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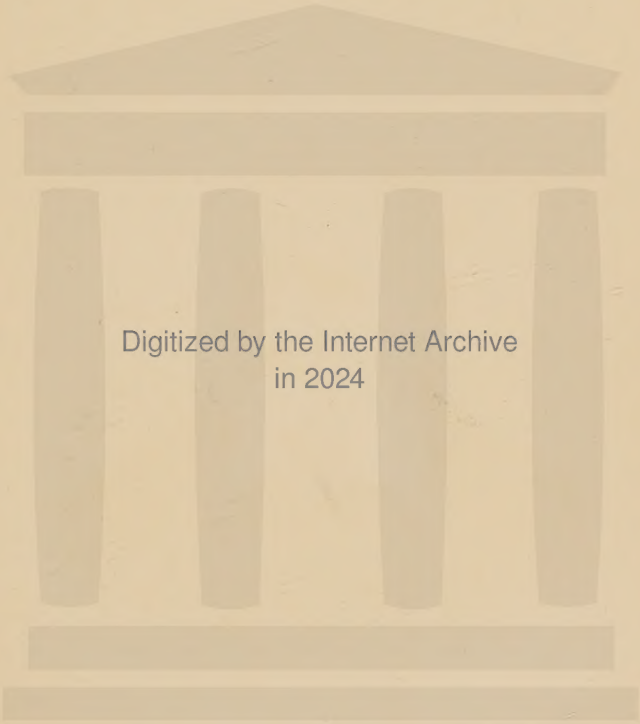
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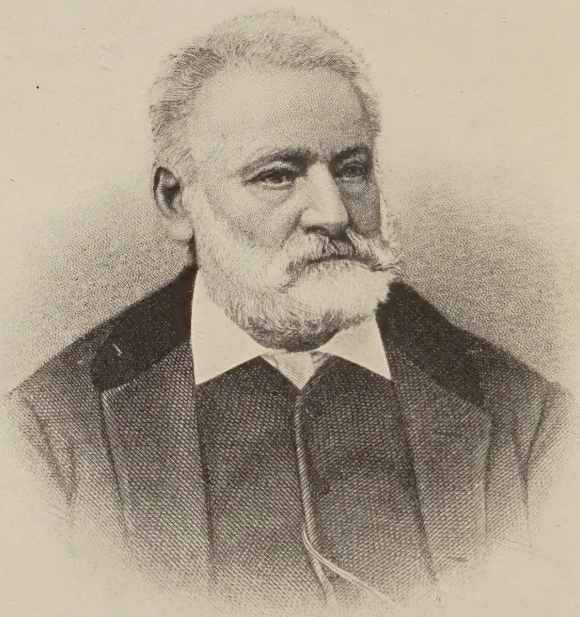

VICTOR HUGO

ORATIONS

FROM HOMER TO WILLIAM McKINLEY

EDITED BY

MAYO W. HAZELTINE, A.M

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IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES

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ORATIONS

GIDDINGS

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS, an American statesman, was born at Tioga Point, Pennsylvania, October 6, 1795, and at the age of ten removed with his parents to Ashtabula County, Ohio. His education was obtained with great difficulty and largely from books that he was able to borrow and read at home. He served in the army in 1812, subsequently taught school, studied law, and, securing admission to the bar in 1821, eventually reached a high rank in his profession. In 1827 he sat in the Ohio legislature and in 1839 entered Congress, where he was a conspicuous and fearless opponent of the slave power; he spoke also on the tariff and other important measures. In a very notable speech which he delivered in Congress in 1841 he declared that the Indian war in Florida was being waged in behalf of slavery, and in 1843 his "Pacificus" essays on slavery attracted a great deal of attention. Giddings opposed the annexation of Texas, was a strong supporter of the Wilmot Proviso, and, when Taylor was nominated for the presidency in 1849, left the Whigs for the Free Soil party. As a Free Soil advocate he strenuously opposed the Fugitive Slave Bill. His staunch anti-slavery opinions made him the object of much denunciation and abuse, and he was twice assaulted in Congress and once pursued by a mob in the streets of Washington. In 1859 he retired from Congress and died at Montreal, Canada, May 27, 1864. He was the author of "Essays of Pacificus," 1843; "The Exiles of Florida," 1858; "Speeches in Congress," 1853; "The Rebellion, its Authors and its Causes," 1864.

DENUNCIATION OF SLAVERY

DELIVERED JUNE 23, 1852

MR. CHAIRMAN,—The two great political parties of the nation have held their conventions. From all parts of these United States delegates have assembled, deliberated upon their platform of principles, avowed their doctrines, nominated their candidates for President and Vice-President, and now have entered upon the presidential campaign. Preparatory to this state of things many speeches were made here, to which the Free Democrats, the advocates of liberty, listened with commendable attention. And now I rise to occupy a brief hour in vindicating the position of

pledged to maintain this traffic in the bodies of women, and the advocates of liberty are asked to aid in electing them. Sir, let those parties revel in such moral and political wickedness; let them pledge themselves and their candidates to perpetrate crimes thus revolting to humanity; but I beseech them not to insult honest men, philanthropists and Christians, by asking them to participate in such transcendent iniquity.

Another of the compromise measures is the fugitive-slave law. Of the character of this law I have spoken on former occasions. Of its unconstitutionality I think no unprejudiced mind can doubt who listened to the speech of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Rantoul]. Of the crimes committed under this law, of the enormities of sending free men into slavery under color of this law, of the barbarous and savage character of the agents selected by this administration to carry it out, I have no time to speak. I noticed in the address of a clergyman, lately delivered before the Home Missionary Society, a statement that the reverend speaker was in the central parts of Russia during the last summer; that an intelligent nobleman taunted him with the character of this fugitive law, saying: "You can find nothing in the legal code of Russia, nor in the decrees of her emperors, equal to that barbarous law."

No, sir, I do not believe that any despot of Russia, or of Austria, was ever guilty of putting forth so barbarous a law; yet the Democratic party and the Whig party tell us that this law shall remain as a final settlement of this subject. The Whig party, it is true, reserve to themselves the right of making it more barbarous. But it is to remain a law and continue in force while time shall last. Yes, when the "archangel shall descend from heaven with a rainbow upon his head, and, placing one foot upon the earth and the other upon the sea,

shall swear by him who liveth for ever and ever, that time shall be no longer," the dread summons shall find the people of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston upon the *qui vive*, hunting for slave-mothers who have fled from all else they hold dear in life, in order to enjoy liberty. The Whigs and Democrats will be found supporting this law; and when they shall close their eyes upon terrestrial objects they will be listening to the baying of bloodhounds, the clanking of chains, shrieks of slaves, and the roar of muskets; while the dying groans of slave-catchers and their wounded associates, the bloodhounds, the last death-sighs of murdered fugitives, will all rise from this earth and mingle with the archangel's voice as he shall summon us all to the bar of final retribution. I would speak of the future with solemnity; but if men are to carry with them into the coming world their leading traits of character, as some hold, it would seem that their residence in the spirit land will be made vocal with the sighs and groans and shrieks of associated beings.

But both parties and their candidates are pledged to maintain this infamous law. And they will "resist" and "discountenance" all agitation in regard to it, "in Congress or out of it." The policy of silencing discussion upon it must be apparent to every man. The slave-holders demanded the passage of this law, Northern doughfaces submitted, some voted for it, others fled the hall. They then knew it would be death to the measure and political obliteration to themselves to discuss it; and therefore voted against its discussion, against all agitation, and a minority of this body actually passed it under the previous question; and now Whigs and Democrats say it never shall be discussed. That when our people of the North see a fellow being seized, chained, dragged into slavery, and sold and flogged, they shall say nothing about it, here or else-

where; that they shall look upon the murdered corpses of fugitives shot down by the agents of government, and may moan over their barbarity, but they must not discuss, they must not agitate the repeal of this law. Well, sir, I assure them the people will discuss these things.

But it is said, through the Whig press, that we cannot repeal this law. I saw this morning an article, in some respects an able article, denouncing this law, in a Whig paper, professedly anti-slavery. The editor, however, admitted that the law would not be repealed, perhaps, for twenty years. Sir, the admission shows the author to be unconscious of the people's power.

It is this miserable, cowardly submission to the slave interest which has degraded Northern men. Let the people send to this body forty members whose hearts are devoted to freedom, who have confidence in the power of truth, and this law will be repealed in six weeks. It will be swept from our statute book, and curses deep and loud will rest upon its authors.

The editor to whom I alluded proposes that we shall contribute from the national funds to pay for fugitives. I could have forgiven the editor for almost any other political offence. What, sir! are we, the descendants of the Pilgrims, of those who bled at Bunker Hill and on every battlefield of the revolution rather than pay a paltry tax on tea and on stamped paper, are we supinely to become tributary to Southern taskmasters? When the barbarians of Algiers seized and enslaved our people we sent an armed force there and slew them, holding them unworthy of a place upon God's footstool. No, sir; by all the hallowed associations which cluster around the memory of English and American patriots, I avow that I would sooner see every slave-holder of the nation hanged

than to witness the subjugation of Northern freemen to such a humiliating condition.

Sir, when it comes to that, I, for one, shall be prepared for the *dernier ressort*,—an appeal to the God of battles. I am a man of peace, but am no non-resistant; and I would sooner have the ashes of my hearth slaked in my own blood and the blood of my children than submit to such degradation. And here I will take occasion to say that if this law continues to be enforced civil war is inevitable. The people will not submit to it. Why, sir, civil war already exists. At Christiana, civil war, with all the circumstances of force, under color of law—resistance in defence of natural right—bloodshed and death took place. In my own State a similar transaction occurred; and I assure gentlemen that other instances will occur if attempts be made to enforce that law. In my own district are many fugitives who have informed their masters where they may be found. These men have become desperate. They desire to see the slave-catchers. They pant for an opportunity to make their oppressors "bite the dust." Sir, send on your commissioners and deputy marshals and bloodhounds, and I assure you that a civil war will soon be in active progress.

Gentlemen talk of enforcing this law. It cannot be done. The people have already passed sentence upon it and upon its authors; and that sentence will be speedily executed. Nor can you stop agitation in regard to it.

Agitation, discussion, and examination are the agents, the instruments, for carrying forward all reforms. The Saviour of man spoke truths boldly. They fell harshly upon the ears of scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites. They denounced him as an agitator; seized, tried, condemned, and crucified him as an agitator. From that day to the present every man who has boldly avowed truths unwelcome to the ears of despots,

tyrants, and the oppressors of our race have been denounced as agitators. Jefferson, in the Declaration of American Independence; Samuel Adams, in the Continental Congress; Washington, on the battlefield, were "distinguished agitators;" John Quincy Adams, while in this hall, for years maintained and defended, with inimitable powers, the right of petition, and was denounced throughout the country as an agitator. He was arraigned at the bar of this House and tried as an agitator. Every member of this body who defends the rights of the people is denounced as an agitator. To me these epithets have lost their terrors.

For hundreds and for thousands of years the instruction and elevation of mankind have been carried forward by agitation. By means of it tyrants and despots have been driven from power and popular rights have been extorted from barbarous rulers. Without agitation no people ever gained their rights, or retained them after they had been extorted from their oppressors. Now, suddenly, to prevent the progress of liberty, Whigs and Democrats unite to suppress this element in all reforms. They declare that discussion shall cease, and the slave-trade and slavery shall continue forever, and the fugitive law shall be rendered perpetual. . . .

Mr. Chairman, I have served in this hall some fifteen years. During that period I think at least two thirds of the time of this body has been occupied by the subject of slavery and other matters connected with that institution. For the last three years we can scarcely be said to have done anything else but discuss and legislate for slavery. This, sir, is all wrong. Slavery is a local institution, existing only in a portion of the States. The attempt to nationalize it is unwarranted and unconstitutional. To do this is now the object of both the Whig and Democratic parties. Against these attempts, we, the

Free Democracy, wage unceasing, undying, unyielding hostility. This war we shall never give up. We shall never lay aside our arms until victory shall crown our efforts,—until this government shall be redeemed and disenthralled from the foul stain of chattel slavery. Against oppression in all its forms, and in all places, we have sworn eternal hostility. Our sympathy for suffering humanity is broad as creation, reaching to all climes and embracing all who bear the image of our Creator. To persecuted Hungary we tender the assurance that "we feel for those in bonds as bound with them." On this subject the Democrats have spoken oracularly.

The Whigs talk about "entangling alliances and standing on foreign soil;" but they dare not take distinct issue on the propriety of exerting our moral power, our political influence, to maintain the law of nations. Substantially, both Whigs and Democrats are opposed to us on this subject. They would permit Russia or Austria to swallow up Hungary without any protest or expression of our disapprobation. We sympathize with the oppressed of all nations; and we, the Free Democracy, literally constitute the party of progress. At Buffalo we adopted the policy of "cheap postage for the people;" and inscribed it upon our banner, and unfurled it to the breeze. We foresaw the advantages of increasing the facilities of communication among the masses and determined to confer upon our country these benefits, while Whigs and Democrats were too timid to take a position either for or against it.

I am aware that we are often charged with being men of one idea, indeed, we are sometimes called the party of one idea,—and I refer to these facts to vindicate ourselves from that charge. We dared go where neither of those parties were willing to follow us, nor to oppose us; and in less than

three years the correctness of our position has been acknowledged before the country.

"Lands for the poor, homes for the destitute," free of expense to all who will immigrate to the West, was another article in our political creed. To this policy neither the Whig nor Democratic party dared express their consent, nor dared they oppose it. At this session a bill carrying out our views on this subject passed this body by a vote of nearly two to one. The Senate will doubtless comply with the popular will of the nation by passing this measure of benevolence which will cause thousands of hearts to swell with gratitude and joy. Sir, the Free Democracy believe that governments were constituted to protect, elevate, and render our race, our whole race, more happy. That it is our duty as statesmen, as philanthropists, as Christians, so far as we have constitutional power, "to raise up the bowed down," "to exalt the humble," "to inform the ignorant," "to comfort the distressed," and increase the prosperity and happiness of all who come within the sphere of our political, our moral, or our religious influence. Of course, we are hostile to those compromise measures which the Whigs and Democrats are pledged to sustain.

In 1848 nearly three hundred thousand freemen cast their votes for our presidential candidate. Since that period our moral and political power has greatly increased. Probably one third of the members on this floor are indebted to men who sympathize with us for their seats, and many were elected solely and entirely upon our principles. Three members of the Senate were elected as Free Democrats, while others are partially indebted to the votes of the Free Democracy. In several State legislatures we hold the balance of power; but this is but little evidence of the rapidity with which our principles are extending.

Our progress is marked by the change of feeling toward our doctrines in both the other parties; their hostility is diminishing daily; they are becoming acquainted with our views, and, of course, respect our motives. In all elections now throughout most of the free States candidates are selected whose doctrines and principles are not obnoxious to us. The cloud which in 1848 was like unto a man's hand in size has now overspread the whole North, and will soon extend over the nation, and finally over the world.

But it is said that those friends in the State of New York who came from the Democratic party have returned to it. I deeply feel and deplore this fact. I loved and honored them, —I still respect them; but I must say that, in my judgment, they have erred in departing from us. I, however, will not judge them; to their own masters they stand or fall. Had they continued with us, there is, in my opinion, no doubt that we should, in November next, have effected the election of a President favorable to our views. That they are friends of liberty I know; that they will sustain the doctrines laid down in the Democratic confession of faith, or vote for Pierce and King under the circumstances attending their nomination, I do not believe. The members of our party, generally, entered upon an organization with a deep feeling and conviction that such an organization was necessary.

Time and experience has confirmed us in that opinion. I have stated the basis of our doctrines; they are permanent, eternal as God himself. While standing on those principles we cannot be wrong. The political and moral regeneration of our country, the entire reformation of this government from its practice of sustaining oppression, slavery, and crime, is our object. To effect this great and holy purpose must require time and perseverance. In what I have said and done

on these questions I have but reflected the sentiments and feelings of those I represent,—indeed, among them are many, very many, " older and better soldiers " than myself. That people, sir, will stand firmly, steadfast, and immovable, upon the doctrines and the organization which they have adopted.

I am aware of the arguments so often used to persuade Free-Soilers to vote for this or that man, for this or that party, in order to gain some supposed temporary advantage. But, sir, we organized for the maintenance of doctrines important not merely to the people of a township, a county, or a state, but to man wherever he is found,—important not merely to-day, at this election, or next year, but in all coming time. Can we leave such a position to unite with either of the other parties in order to elect this or that man to office while he stands pledged to maintain slavery and the slave-trade in this district and in our territories,—to continue the infamous fugitive law,—to uphold and support all these measures as a final settlement of the subjects to which they refer, and to discountenance all examination, discussion, or agitation as to the propriety of these measures? Sir, were we to unite with either party to elect a President thus pledged we should lose our own self-respect,—we should lose the respect and confidence of the world. Politically, sir, we are " a city set upon an hill, which cannot be hid." Throughout the country our influence is felt. In this hall we wield a moral power far beyond our numbers. Let no man charge me with indelicacy when I assert that the Free-Soilers of this body exert all the influence to which their numbers entitle them. Whigs and Democrats have confidence that we shall in all cases be guided by judgment, by reason and justice, and not by the paltry considerations of party.

The effect has been most salutary. Ten years since no

man here dared separate from his party. No matter what was the subject, or his own judgment, every member was compelled to fall into line and vote with his party leaders. Free-Soilers have set an example here of independence. The commencement of our trials on this subject were severe. We were frowned upon, vilified, and denounced; but, thank God, we had the firmness to bide our time, and now for years many Whigs and Democrats have followed our example and dared to vote as their judgments and consciences dictated. In short, sir, here party lines upon most subjects of legislation have become obliterated. This of itself constitutes a great reform.

At Baltimore a portion of the Whig party contended manfully against committing themselves to the outrages and crimes of the fugitive law and compromise measures. In that respect they did more than the Democrats. My sympathies, and the sympathies of our party and of all good men were with them.

And had the anti-slavery Whigs in this House and the Senate promptly and energetically met the supercilious pretensions of the slave-power with decision and firmness, I have little doubt they would have inspired a feeling at Baltimore which would have repudiated a platform that has stamped indelible disgrace upon their party. In this hall, the Democrats have sustained the constitutional rights of the free States more ably and faithfully than the Whigs have during the present session.

But I am aware that a strong effort is making to induce our Free Democracy to sustain the Whig candidate at the coming election. With the gentleman nominated I have long been acquainted. To him nor to the Democratic nominee have I any personal objection; but, if elected, he is pledged

to maintain the outrages, the revolting crimes, pertaining to the compromise measures and fugitive-slave law to which I have called attention,—to render them perpetual, so far as he may be able,—to prevent all discussion relating to them. To vote for him is to vote for this policy,—to identify ourselves in favor of the avowed doctrines which he is pledged to support,—to give proof by our votes that we approve the platform on which he stands. But, sir, why vote for Scott in preference to Pierce?

The doctrines of the Whig party, as I have shown, pledge them and their candidate to maintain slavery; the breeding of slaves for market; the sale of women in this district and in the territories; to uphold the fugitive law in all coming time; to admit as many slave States as shall apply from New Mexico and Utah, and to silence discussion on all these subjects. This is as far, I think, as human depravity can go. If the Democratic party has dived deeper into moral and political putridity, some archangel fallen must have penned their confession of faith. If there be such a distinction, it can only be discovered by a refinement of casuistry too intricate for honest minds to exert. Sir, suppose there were a shade of distinction in the depths of depravity to which these parties have descended, does it become men,—free men, men of moral principle, of political integrity,—to be straining their visions and using intellectual microscopes to discover that shade of moral darkness? No, sir; let every man who feels that he has a country to save, a character to sustain,—that he owes a duty to mankind and to God,—come forward at once and wage a bold and exterminating war against these doctrines so abhorrent to freedom and humanity.

But it is said that the Democratic party, if defeated again by the anti-slavery sentiment, as they were in 1848, will dis-

band, and the masses will then unite with us in support of justice, truth, and liberty. The defeat of the Democratic party might disband them and it might not. There is no certainty on that point. If we were to unite with the Whigs, we might, or we might not, defeat the Democrats. If we were to try the experiment and fail, Whigs and Democrats would despise us. We should despise ourselves. If we should succeed we should become identified with the Whig party and swallowed up by it. In every aspect in which I can view such a policy we must lose the moral power which we possess. Standing upon elevated principles,—professing, avowing, and proclaiming the political gospel which we present to the people,—we cannot descend to mingle in such a contest without a sacrifice of that moral and political influence which now commands the respect of all honest men and of our own consciences.

Mr. Chairman, I know not the course which the people whom I represent will pursue. From the past only can I judge of their future action. A residence of half a century among them has given me some knowledge of their character. Their past action on this subject is "known and read of all men."

That people do their own thinking and their own voting. They know their rights and will maintain them so far as moral and political action on their part will do it. They are at all times prepared to discharge their duty. Sir, in 1848 there was more political effort made to induce our friends there to vote for the present Executive than was ever put forth on any other occasion. Distinguished gentlemen from other States, of great ability and of anti-slavery sentiments, were imported to show us the propriety of voting for men who feared to speak in favor of free principles. But those

efforts failed and few men can now be found who will admit that they ever cast a vote for the present Executive—a man who has prostituted the power of his office to the support of slavery and crime. Now they are to be called on to vote for men openly pledged and committed to the work of eternizing slavery and the slave-trade and the fugitive law. I will leave the Free Democracy of the Reserve to speak for themselves. They have always done that.

Sir, we are in the midst of a revolution. The two great parties are striving to convert this free government into a slave-holding, a slave-breeding republic. Those powers which were delegated to secure liberty, are now exerted to overthrow freedom and the constitution. It becomes every patriot, every lover of freedom, every Christian, every man, to stand forth in defence of popular rights, in defence of the rights of the free States, of the institutions under which we live, in defence of our national character.

Sir, I am getting old,—the infirmities of age are coming upon me. I must soon leave the scenes with which I am surrounded. It is uncertain whether I shall again address this body; but one thing I ask,—that friends and foes, here and elsewhere, in this and in coming time, shall understand that, whether in public or in private, by the wayside or the fireside, in life or in death, I oppose, denounce, and repudiate the efforts now put forth to involve the people of the free States in the support of slavery, of the slave-trade, and their attendant crimes.

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV, King of Prussia, was born October 15, 1795. He succeeded his father, King Frederick William III, on his death in June, 1840. He at first granted many minor reforms and pledged himself to radical changes, but, being possessed by exaggerated ideas of the kingly office, kept evading the fulfilment of his promises. He opposed the revolutionary movements of 1849 and refused the imperial crown offered him by the Liberal Frankfort Diet the following year. But when in 1850 the people stormed the arsenal and seized the palace of his brother, William, Prince of Prussia, afterwards William I, he granted a representative parliament. In 1857 his mystic pietism developed into pronounced insanity, and he resigned the administration to his brother, who, on his death, January 2, 1861, became king.

OPENING OF THE PRUSSIAN DIET

DELIVERED ON THE OPENING OF THE DIET, APRIL, 1847

ILLUSTRIOUS NOBLE PRINCES, COUNTS, AND LORDS, MY DEAR AND TRUSTY ORDERS OF NOBLES, BURGHERS, AND COMMONS,—I bid you from the depth of my heart welcome on the day of the fulfilment of a great work of my father, resting in God, never to be forgotten, King William III, of glorious memory.

The noble edifice of representative freedom, the eight mighty pillars of which the king of blessed memory founded deep and unshakably in the peculiar organization of his provinces, is to-day perfected in your assembly. It has received its protecting roof. The king wished to have finished his work himself, but his views were shipwrecked in the utter impracticability of the plans laid before him. Therefrom arose evils which his clear eye detected with grief, and, before all, the uncertainty which made many a noble soil susceptible of

weeds. Let us bless, however, to-day, the conscientiousness of the true beloved king, who despised his own earlier triumph in order to guard his folk from later ruin, and let us honor his memory by not perilling the existence of his completed work by the impatient haste of beginners.

I give up beforehand all co-operation thereto. Let us suffer time, and, above all, experience, to have their way; and let us commit the work, as is fitting, to the furthering and forming hands of Divine Providence. Since the commencement of the operation of the provincial Diets I have perceived the defects of individual portions of our representative life, and proposed to myself conscientiously the grave question how they were to be remedied? My resolutions on this point have long since arrived at maturity. Immediately on my accession I made the first step toward realizing them by forming the committees of the provincial Diets, and by calling them together soon after.

You are aware, lords and gentlemen, that I have now made the days for the meeting of those committees periodical, and that I have confided to them the free working of the provincial Diets. For the ordinary run of affairs their deliberations will satisfactorily represent the desired point of union. But the law of January 17, 1820, respecting the state debts, gives, in that portion of it not as yet carried out, rights and privileges to the Orders which can be exercised neither by the provincial assemblies nor by the committees.

As the heir of an unweakened crown, which I must and will hand down unweakened to my descendants, I know that I am perfectly free from all and every pledge with respect to what has not been carried out, and, above all, with respect to that from the execution of which his own true paternal conscience preserved my illustrious predecessor. The law is, however,

carried out in all its essential parts; an edifice of justice has been built upon it, oaths have been sworn on it, and it has, all unfinished as it is, maintained itself as a wise law for seven-and-twenty years. Therefore have I proceeded, with a cheerful heart indeed, but with all the freedom of my kingly prerogative, to its final completion. I am, however, the irreconcilable enemy of all arbitrary proceedings, and must have been a foe, above all, to the idea of bringing together an artificial arbitrary assembly of the Orders, which should deprive the noble creation of the king, my dear father—I mean the provincial Diets—of their value. It has been, therefore, for many years my firm determination only to form this assembly, ordained by law, or by the fusion together of the provincial Diets. It is formed; I have recognized your claim to all the rights flowing from that law; and far beyond—yes, far beyond—all the promises of the king of blessed memory, I have granted you, within certain necessary limits, the right of granting taxes—a right, gentlemen, the responsibility of which weighs far more heavily than the honor which accompanies it. This august assembly will now denote important periods in the existence of our state, which are treated of in my patent of February 3d. As soon as those periods occur, I will assemble the Diets on each separate occasion round my throne, in order to deliberate with them for the welfare of my country, and to afford them an opportunity for the exercise of their rights. I have, however, reserved the express right of calling together these great assemblies on extraordinary occasions, when I deem it good and profitable; and I will do this willingly and at more frequent intervals if this Diet gives me proof that I may act thus without prejudice to higher sovereign duties.

My trusty and free subjects have received all the laws which I and my father have granted them for the protection of their

highest interests, and especially the laws of the 3d of February, with warm gratitude, and woe to him who shall dare to dash their thankfulness with care, or to turn it into ingratitude.

Every Prussian knows that for twenty-four years past all laws which concern his freedom and property have been first discussed by the Orders, but from this time forward let every one in my kingdom know that I, with the sole necessary exception of the occurrence of the calamity of war, will contract no state loan, levy no new taxes, nor increase existing ones, without the free consent of all Orders.

Noble lords and trusty Orders, I know that with these rights I entrust a costly jewel of freedom to your hands, and that you will employ it faithfully. But I know, as certainly, that many will mistake and despise this jewel—that to many it is not enough. A portion of the press, for instance, demands outright from me and my government a revolution in church and state, and from you, gentlemen, acts of importunate ingratitude, of illegality—nay, of disobedience. Many also, and among them very worthy men, look for our safety in the conversion of the natural relation between prince and people into a conventional existence granted by charters and ratified by oaths.

May, however, the example of the one happy country, whose constitution centuries and a hereditary wisdom without a parallel, but no sheets of paper, have made, not be lost upon us, but find the respect which it deserves. If other countries find their happiness in another way than that people and ourselves, namely, in the way of " manufactured and granted " constitutions, we must and will praise their happiness in an upright and brotherly manner. We will, with the justest admiration, consider the sublime example, when a strong will of iron consequence and high intelligence succeeds in delaying, in master-

ing, and allaying every crisis of serious importance; and, above all, when this tends to the welfare of Germany and the maintenance of the peace of Europe. But Prussia, gentlemen, Prussia cannot bear such a state of things. Do you ask why? I answer, cast your eyes at the map of Europe, at the position of our country, at its component parts; follow the line of our borders, weigh the power of our neighbors, throw before all an enlightened glance on our history. It has pleased God to make Prussia strong by the sword of war from without and by the sword of intellect from within; not, surely, by the negative intellect of the age, but by the spirit of moderation and order. I speak out boldly, gentlemen. As in the camp, unless in cases of the most urgent danger or grossest folly, the command can only be rested in the will of one, so can the destinies of this country, unless it is to fall instantly from its height, only be guided by one will; and if the King of Prussia would commit an abomination, were he to demand from his subjects the subserviency of a slave, so would he commit a far greater abomination were he not to demand from them the crowning virtue of freemen—I mean obedience for the sake of God and conscience. Whoever is alarmed at the tenor of these words, him I refer to the development of our laws for a century back, to the edicts of the Orders, and finally to this assembly and its rights; there he may find consolation if he will.

Noble lords and trusty Orders, I am forced to the solemn declaration that no power on earth will ever succeed in moving me to change the natural—and, in our own case, so imperatively necessary—relation between prince and people, into something merely conventional or constitutional; and that, once for all, I will never suffer a written sheet of paper to force itself in, as it were a second providence, between our Lord God in heaven and this people, in order to rule us with its

paragraphs, and to replace by them our ancient and time-hallowed trusty reliance on each other. Between us be truth. From one weakness I feel myself entirely free—I strive not for idle popular favor; who could do so if he has read history aright? I strive alone to fulfil my duty, so as to satisfy my understanding and my conscience, and to deserve the thanks of my people, even though it be never my lot to obtain it.

Noble lords and trusty Orders, it has often caused me care and impatience during the first years of my reign, that I could not remove hindrances which opposed an earlier convocation of your assembly. I was wrong. On both sides we should have been poorer by many experiences, poorer by experiences in part of a costly nature; but all of them, if not always good, yet for us of priceless worth. We have now lying open before us the experiences of seven years, and, by God's good pleasure, not in vain. The working of parties on one side, and the temper of my people on the other, are now clear and indubitable. It is a splendid privilege of the kingly office that it can on all occasions call things by their right names without fear. I will do this to-day before you, as a duty which I have to fulfil. I beg you now to follow me a moment while with a sharp eye we consider the state of things at home.

The dearth which has visited Europe of latter years has also penetrated to us, if with less severity than in other countries. It has, however, found us well prepared, and I can give my government the honorable testimonial that it has honestly done its part towards alleviating the calamity. There are, also, means further to resist it, if God spares us from new failures in the crops. Here I must mention private benevolence, which, in these times, has manifested itself anew so nobly, so cheeringly; and I pay it here, before you, the tribute of my admiration and my gratitude.

The extinction of the national debt is progressing. The taxes are diminished, the finances are put in order. I have to-day the happiness to offer the provinces, for the use of their treasuries, a donation of 2,000,000 rix-dollars.

The management of affairs and the administration of justice are with us in a purer condition than almost in any other country; publicity is established in our courts; roads, canals, all kinds of improvements of the land are proceeding to an extent before unknown; science and art are in the most flourishing condition; the national prosperity is increasing; trade and industry, if, alas! not protected against their European vicissitudes, are comparatively satisfactory; paternal care and good will are certainly nowhere to be mistaken; the press is as free as the laws of the confederation permit; the freedom of confession is associated with animating power to our old liberty of faith and conscience; and our just pride and strong shield, my army of the line and militia, may be called incomparable.

With our neighbors and with the Powers on this and the other side of the ocean we stand on the best terms, and our relation to our allies, in combination with whom we once freed Germany, and from the happy concord of whom depends the maintenance of a thirty-two years' peace in a great part of Europe, is firmer and closer than ever.

I could add much which would be calculated to bend our knees in thanks toward God, but this will suffice. For it is quite sufficient to found this gratitude, and a state of contentment, which in an honest comparison, in spite of many just wishes, appears quite natural. Before all, one would think that the press must diffuse gratitude and contentment on all sides, for I venture to say that it is the press which, to a particular extent, owes me thanks. Noble lords and faithful

States, I require your German hearts to grant me those thanks. While recognizing the honorable endeavor to elevate the press by a noble and conscientious spirit, it is yet unquestionable that in a portion of it a dark spirit of destruction prevails, a spirit that entices to revolution, and that deals in the most audacious falsehood, disgraceful to German fidelity and Prussian honor. I know that the genuine sense of the people remains firm, but we do not deceive ourselves as to the evil fruits of the evil tree, which meet us in the shape of dissatisfaction and want of confidence, attended by still worse facts, such as open disobedience, secret conspiracy, a declared revolt from all which is sacred to good men, and attempted regicide. Even in our churches are seen those fruits, together with the twofold death in indifference and fanaticism. But ecclesiastical matters do not belong to the states. They have their legitimate organs in the two confessions. One confession of faith I am, on this day, unable to suppress, bearing in mind the frightful attempt to defraud my people of its holiest jewel—its faith in the Redeemer, Lord and King of itself and of us all. This avowal is as follows. [Here his Majesty arose and spoke the word standing, and with right hand uplifted] "I and my house, we will serve the Lord."

I turn my troubled glance from the aberrations of a few to the whole of my people. Then does it grow bright with tears of joy; there, my lords, amid all the heavy troubles of government, is my consolation. My people is still the old Christian people—the honest, true, valiant people—which has fought the battles of my fathers, and the honorable qualities of which have only grown with the greatness and fame of their country, which once, like no other, in the days of trouble, bound itself to its paternal king and bore him, as it were, upon its shoulders from victory to victory,—a people,

my lords, often tempted by the arts of seduction, but always found proof against them. Even out of the strongest of these trials it will come forth pure. Already is the impious sport with Christianity, the abuse of religion as a means of distinction, recognized in its true form as sacrilege, and is dying away. My firm reliance upon the fidelity of my people, as the surest means of extinguishing the conflagration, has been ever nobly rewarded both by the older and the younger sons of our Prussian country, even where another language than ours is spoken.

Therefore, hear this well, lords and faithful States, and may all the country hear it through you. From all the indignities to which I and my government have been exposed for some years, I appeal to my people! From all evils which perhaps are still in reserve for me, I appeal beforehand to my people! My people knows my heart, my faith and love to it, and adheres in love and faith to me. My people does not wish the association of representatives in the government, the weakening of rank, the division of sovereignty, the breaking up of the authority of its kings, who have founded its history, its freedom, its prosperity, and who alone can protect its dearest acquisitions, and will protect them, God willing, as heretofore.

Know, my lords, I do not read the feelings of my people in the green arches and huzzahs of festivity; still less in the praise and blame of the press, or in the doubtful, sometimes criminal, demands of certain addresses which are sent to the Throne, and States, or elsewhere. I have read them with my own eyes in the touching thanks of men for benefits scarcely promised, scarcely begun; here, where broad districts of land stood under water; there, where men scarcely recovered from hunger. In their grateful joy, in their wet eyes, did I read

their feelings three years ago, when the lives of myself and the queen were so wonderfully preserved. This is truth—and in my words is truth when I say that it is a noble people; and I feel entirely the happiness of presiding over such a people. And your hearts will understand me and accord with me when in this great hour I urgently call upon you—"Be worthy of this people!"

Illustrious princes, counts, and lords, you will have recognized in the position assigned to you by law in this united Diet, my intention that that position should be a dignified one, at once answering to the conception of a German order of nobles and also beneficial to the whole community. I rely upon your deeply feeling at this hour, and in these times, what is meant by being the first of a nation and also what is required at your hands. You will repay my confidence.

You, my lords of the nobility, and my faithful burghers and commons, are, I am firmly persuaded, impressed with this truth, that on this day and in this hour you are the first of your respective Orders; but therefore, also, the protectors of your ancient renown. Look at this throne! Your fathers and mine—many princes of your race, and of mine, and myself—have fought for the preservation, the deliverance, and the honor of that throne, and for the existence of our native land. God was with us! There is now a new battle to be fought on behalf of the same glorious possessions—a peaceful one, indeed, but its combats are not a whit less important than those of the field of war. And God will be with us yet again, for the battle is against the evil tendencies of the age. Your unanimity with me, the prompt expression of your wish to aid me in improving the domain of rights (that true field for the labor of kings) will make this Diet a pitched battle gained against every evil and lawless influence that troubles and dis-

honors Germany; and the work will be to your renown and that of the country, and the contentment and satisfaction of the people.

Representatives of the nobles, be now and for the future, as of old, the first to follow the banner of the Hohenzollerns, that for three centuries has led you on to honor. And you, burghers, give to the whole world a living testimony that the intelligence—the great mass of which you are proud to represent—is, among us, that right and true one which ennobles by the development of religion and morality and by the love of your king and country. And you, representatives of the commons, you and your Order are never the last when your country and your king call on you, whether it be in peace or in war. Hear the voice of your king, that tells you they require you again!

In my kingdom, neither of the three Orders ranks above or beneath the other. They stand beside each other on an equality of rights and honor, but each within its limits, each with its own province. This is a practicable and reasonable equality. This is freedom.

Noble lords and trusty Orders, a word more on the question —yes, the question of existence between the Throne and the different Orders. The late king, after mature consideration, called them into existence, according to the German and historical idea of them; and in this idea alone have I continued his work. Impress yourselves, I entreat you, with the spirit of this definition. You are German Orders in the anciently received sense of the word—that is, you are truly, and before all, "representatives and defenders of your own rights," the rights of those Orders whose confidence has sent here the far greater portion of this assembly. But after that you are to exercise those rights which the Crown has recognized as

yours; you have, further, conscientiously to give the Crown that advice it requires of you. Finally, you are free to bring petitions and complaints, after mature deliberation, to the foot of the throne.

Those are the rights, those the duties, of German Orders; this is your glorious vocation. But it is not your province to represent opinions or bring opinions of the day, or of this or that school, into practical operation. That is wholly un-German, and, besides, completely useless for the good of the community, for it would lead necessarily to inextricable embarrassments with the Crown, which must govern according to the law of God and the land, and its own free, unbiased resolution, but which cannot and dares not govern according to the will of the majority, if "Prussia" would not soon become an empty sound in Europe. Clearly recognizing my office and your vocation, and firmly resolved to treat that recognition faithfully under all circumstances, I have appeared among you, and addressed you with royal freedom. With the same openness, and as the highest proof of my confidence in you, I here give you my royal word that I should not have called you together had I had the smallest suspicion that you would otherwise understand your duties, or that you had any desire to play the part of what are called representatives of the people. I should not have called you together for that purpose, because according to my deepest and most heartfelt conviction, the Throne and state would be endangered by it, and because I recognize it as my first duty, under all circumstances and events, to preserve the Throne, the state, and my government, as they at present exist. I remember the axiom of a royal friend, "Confidence awakens confidence." That is this day my brightest hope. That my confidence in you is great, I have proved by my words, and sealed by my act.

And from you, gentlemen, I expect a proof of confidence in return, and an answer in the same manner—by your acts. God is my witness, I have summoned you as your truest, best, and most faithful friend; and I firmly believe that, among the hundreds before me, there is not one who is not resolved, at this moment, to preserve that friendship. Many of you were at Königsberg on the 10th of September, 1840; and I can even now hear the thunder of your voices as you pronounced the oath of fidelity, that then penetrated my soul. Many of you, on the day on which I received the homage of my hereditary estates, joined with thousands in the still echoing "Yes!" with which you replied to my demand whether you would, "in word and deed, in heart and spirit, in truth and love, help and assist me to preserve Prussia as it is, and as it must remain, if it would not perish: that you would not let or hinder me in the path of considerate but vigorous progress, but endure with me through good days and through evil." Now redeem your word—now fulfil that vow!

You can do it by the exercise of one of your most important duties—namely, by choosing from among you faithful and upright friends of the throne and of our good purpose for your committees—men who have comprehended that at this time it is the first duty of the Orders to encourage and support the good disposition and fidelity of the country by their own example, and, on the contrary, to strike down and discountenance every kind of many-headed faithlessness—men who, enemies of every kind of slavery, are, above all, enemies of that shameful yoke which a misguiding opinion (branding the name of freedom of thought) would lay upon your necks. This selection is a very critical act—one pregnant with consequences. Weigh it in your hearts, and choose conscientiously.

Remember, also, that the day of uncertainty as to the form which the activity of the Orders is to take is passed. Many things which, under this uncertainty, forbearance could excuse, have henceforth no excuse remaining. The 3d of February of this year, like the 3d of February, 1813, has opened to the real children of our fatherland that path they have now to pursue: and the same unspeakable happiness which then fell to the lot of my glorious father is now also mine—mine in this moment. I speak, as he did, to the hearts of German—of Prussian men!

Go, then, illustrious princes, counts, and lords—dear and faithful Orders of nobles, burghers, and commons—proceed with God's help to your task. You will, I am certain, in this moment, when all Europe is gazing on you, and through all the future labors of the Diet, prove yourselves true Prussians; and that one thing, believe me, will not be absent—namely, God's blessing, on which all things depend. Out of our unanimity it will descend on the present and future generations, and, I hope, on all our glorious German fatherland, in one broad stream, beside which we may dwell in peace and safety, as by the shores of the blessing-bringing rivers that water the earth. And now, once more, and out of the fullness of my heart—welcome!

CARLYLE

THOMAS CARLYLE, a famous Scotch essayist, historian, and moralist, was born at Ecclefechan, Scotland, December 4, 1795. At the age of fourteen he entered the University of Edinburgh, and on receiving his degree taught for four years, first at Annan, then as master of a new school at Kirkcaldy. In 1818 he returned to Edinburgh and lived in Scotland, engaged in literary work, until 1834, when he removed with his wife, the brilliant Jane Welsh, to London, where he died, February 4, 1881. His first published work was a translation of Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship" (1824). "Sartor Resartus" appeared first in Boston, Emerson having undertaken to get a hearing for that masterpiece in America when no English publisher was bold enough to undertake it. "The French Revolution" (1837) was a rhapsodic prose-poem rather than a serious history, but it created great interest and had a wide influence in liberalizing thought. "Heroes and Hero Worship and the Heroic in History" appeared in 1841; "Past and Present" in 1843; the "Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell" in 1845; the "Life of Sterling" in 1851, and "Friedrich II" between 1858 and 1865. In 1866 he was elected lord rector of Edinburgh University and made his classic address on "The Choice of Books." He published innumerable magazine articles and other works of more or less importance. He was a life-long sufferer from dyspepsia, and his views of life and men, especially of his contemporaries, were decidedly pessimistic, but the general tendency of his writings was toward the loftiest idealism, and many young men attributed to his influence their moral, spiritual and intellectual awakening. All things considered, he was the most stimulating writer of the Victorian Age.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

DELIVERED APRIL 2, 1866, ON HIS INSTALLATION AS LORD RECTOR

GENTLEMEN,—I have accepted the office you have elected me to, and it is now my duty to return thanks for the great honor done me. Your enthusiasm toward me, I must admit, is in itself very beautiful, however undeserved it may be in regard to the object of it. It is a feeling honorable to all men, and one well known to myself when I was of an age like yours, nor is it yet quite gone. I can only hope that with you too it may endure to the end,—

this noble desire to honor those whom you think worthy of honor; and that you will come to be more and more select and discriminate in the choice of the object of it—for I can well understand that you will modify your opinions of me and of many things else, as you go on. It is now fifty-six years, gone last November, since I first entered your city, a boy of not quite fourteen; to attend the classes here, and gain knowledge of all kinds, I could little guess what, my poor mind full of wonder and awe-struck expectation; and now, after a long course, this is what we have come to. There is something touching and tragic, and yet at the same time beautiful, to see, as it were, the third generation of my dear old native land rising up and saying, "Well, you are not altogether an unworthy laborer in the vineyard; you have toiled through a great variety of fortunes, and have had many judges: this is our judgment of you!" As the old proverb says, "He that builds by the wayside has many masters." We must expect a variety of judges; but the voice of young Scotland, through you, is really of some value to me; and I return you many thanks for it,—though I cannot go into describing my emotions to you, and perhaps they will be much more perfectly conceivable if expressed in silence.

When this office was first proposed to me, some of you know I was not very ambitious to accept it, but had my doubts rather. I was taught to believe that there were certain more or less important duties which would lie in my power. This, I confess, was my chief motive in going into it and overcoming the objections I felt to such things: if I could do anything to serve my dear old Alma Mater and you, why should not I? Well, but on practically looking into the matter when the office actually came into my hands, I find it grows more and

more uncertain and abstruse to me whether there is much real duty that I can do at all. I live four hundred miles away from you, in an entirely different scene of things; and my weak health, with the burden of the many years now accumulating on me, and my total unacquaintance with such subjects as concern your affairs here,—all this fills me with apprehension that there is really nothing worth the least consideration that I can do on that score. You may depend on it, however, that if any such duty does arise in any form, I will use my most faithful endeavor to do in it whatever is right and proper, according to the best of my judgment.

Meanwhile, the duty I at present have,—which might be very pleasant, but which is not quite so, for reasons you may fancy,—is to address some words to you, if possible not quite useless, nor incongruous to the occasion, and on subjects more or less cognate to the pursuits you are engaged in. Accordingly, I mean to offer you some loose observations, loose in point of order, but the truest I have, in such form as they may present themselves; certain of the thoughts that are in me about the business you are here engaged in, what kind of race it is that you young gentlemen have started on, and what sort of arena you are likely to find in this world. I ought, I believe, according to custom, to have written all that down on paper, and had it read out. That would have been much handier for me at the present moment; but on attempting the thing, I found I was not used to write speeches, and that I didn't get on very well. So I flung that aside, and could only resolve to trust, in all superficial respects, to the suggestion of the moment, as you now see. You will therefore have to accept what is readiest; what comes direct from the heart; and you must just take that in compensation for any good order or arrangement there might have been in it. I

will endeavor to say nothing that is not true, so far as I can manage; and that is pretty much all I can engage for.

Advices, I believe, to young men, as to all men, are very seldom much valued. There is a great deal of advising, and very little faithful performing; and talk that does not end in any kind of action is better suppressed altogether. I would not, therefore, go much into advising; but there is one advice I must give you. In fact, it is the summary of all advices, and doubtless you have heard it a thousand times; but I must nevertheless let you hear it the thousand-and-first time, for it is most intensely true, whether you will believe it at present or not: namely, That above all things the interest of your whole life depends on your being diligent, now while it is called to-day, in this place where you have come to get education! Diligent: that includes in it all virtues that a student can have; I mean it to include all those qualities of conduct that lead on to the acquirement of real instruction and improvement in such a place. If you will believe me, you who are young, yours is the golden season of life. As you have heard it called, so it verily is, the seedtime of life; in which, if you do not sow, or if you do sow tares instead of wheat, you cannot expect to reap well afterward, and you will arrive at little. And in the course of years, when you come to look back, if you have not done what you have heard from your advisers,—and among many counsellors there is wisdom,—you will bitterly repent when it is too late. The habits of study acquired at universities are of the highest importance in after-life. At the season when you are young in years, the whole mind is, as it were, fluid, and is capable of forming itself into any shape that the owner of the mind pleases to allow it, or constrain it, to form itself into. The mind is then in a plastic or fluid state; but it hardens gradually, to the

consistency of rock or of iron, and you cannot alter the habits of an old man: he, as he has begun, so he will proceed and go on to the last.

By diligence I mean, among other things, and very chiefly too,—honesty, in all your inquiries, and in all you are about. Pursue your studies in the way your conscience can name honest. More and more endeavor to do that. Keep, I should say for one thing, an accurate separation between what you have really come to know in your minds and what is still unknown. Leave all that latter on the hypothetical side of the barrier, as things afterwards to be acquired, if acquired at all; and be careful not to admit a thing as known when you do not yet know it. Count a thing known only when it is imprinted clearly on your mind, and has become transparent to you, so that you may survey it on all sides with intelligence. There is such a thing as a man endeavoring to persuade himself, and endeavoring to persuade others, that he knows things, when he does not know more than the outside skin of them; and yet he goes flourishing about with them. There is also a process called cramming, in some universities, that is, getting up such points of things as the examiner is likely to put questions about. Avoid all that, as entirely unworthy of an honorable mind. Be modest, and humble, and assiduous in your attention to what your teachers tell you, who are profoundly interested in trying to bring you forward in the right way, so far as they have been able to understand it. Try all things they set before you, in order, if possible, to understand them, and to follow and adopt them in proportion to their fitness for you. Gradually see what kind of work you individually can do; it is the first of all problems for a man to find out what kind of work he is to do in this universe. In short, morality as regards study is, as in all other things, the

primary consideration, and overrules all others. A dishonest man cannot do anything real; he never will study with real fruit; and perhaps it would be greatly better if he were tied up from trying it. He does nothing but darken counsel by the words he utters. That is a very old doctrine, but a very true one; and you will find it confirmed by all the thinking men that have ever lived in this long series of generations of which we are the latest.

I daresay you know, very many of you, that it is now some seven hundred years since universities were first set up in this world of ours. Abelard and other thinkers had arisen with doctrines in them which people wished to hear of, and students flocked toward them from all parts of the world. There was no getting the thing recorded in books as you now may. You had to hear the man speaking to you vocally, or else you could not learn at all what it was that he wanted to say. And so they gathered together, these speaking ones,—the various people who had anything to teach,—and formed themselves gradually, under the patronage of kings and other potentates who were anxious about the culture of their populations, and nobly studious of their best benefit; and became a body corporate, with high privileges, high dignities, and really high aims, under the title of a university.

Possibly too you may have heard it said that the course of centuries has changed all this; and that "the true university of our days is a collection of books." And beyond doubt, all this is greatly altered by the invention of printing, which took place about midway between us and the origin of universities. Men have not now to go in person to where a professor is actually speaking; because in most cases you can get his doctrine out of him through a book; and can then read it, and read it again and again, and study it. That is an immense

change, that one fact of printed books. And I am not sure that I know of any university in which the whole of that fact has yet been completely taken in, and the studies molded in complete conformity with it. Nevertheless, universities have, and will continue to have, an indispensable value in society, —I think, a very high, and it might be almost the highest value. They began, as is well known, with their grand aim directed on theology,—their eye turned earnestly on heaven. And perhaps, in a sense, it may be still said, the very highest interests of man are virtually intrusted to them. In regard to theology, as you are aware, it has been, and especially was then, the study of the deepest heads that have come into the world,—what is the nature of this stupendous universe, and what are our relations to it, and to all things knowable by man, or known only to the great author of man and it. Theology was once the name for all this; all this is still alive for man, however dead the name may grow. In fact, the members of the Church keeping theology in a lively condition for the benefit of the whole population, theology was the great object of the universities. I consider it is the same intrinsically now, though very much forgotten, from many causes, and not so successful as might be wished, by any manner of means.

It remains, however, practically a most important truth, what I alluded to above, that the main use of universities in the present age is that, after you have done with all your classes, the next thing is a collection of books, a great library of good books, which you proceed to study and to read. What the universities can mainly do for you,—what I have found the university did for me, is, that it taught me to read, in various languages, in various sciences; so that I could go into the books which treated of these things, and gradually

penetrate into any department I wanted to make myself master of, as I found it suit me.

Well, gentlemen, whatever you may think of these historical points, the clearest and most imperative duty lies on every one of you to be assiduous in your reading. Learn to be good readers,—which is perhaps a more difficult thing than you imagine. Learn to be discriminative in your reading; to read faithfully, and with your best attention, all kinds of things which you have a real interest in, a real not an imaginary, and which you find to be really fit for what you are engaged in. Of course, at the present time, in a great deal of the reading incumbent on you, you must be guided by the books recommended by your professors for assistance towards the effect of their prelections. And then, when you leave the university, and go into studies of your own, you will find it very important that you have chosen a field, some province specially suited to you, in which you can study and work. The most unhappy of all men is the man who cannot tell what he is going to do, who has got no work cut out for him in the world, and does not go into it. For work is the grand cure of all the maladies and miseries that ever beset mankind, —honest work, which you intend getting done.

If, in any vacant vague time, you are in a strait as to choice of reading,—a very good indication for you, perhaps the best you could get, is toward some book you have a great curiosity about. You are then in the readiest and best of all possible conditions to improve by that book. It is analogous to what doctors tell us about the physical health and appetites of the patient. You must learn, however, to distinguish between false appetite and true. There is such a thing as a false appetite, which will lead a man into vagaries with regard to diet; will tempt him to eat spicy things, which he should not

eat at all, nor would, but that the things are toothsome, and that he is under a momentary baseness of mind. A man ought to examine and find out what he really and truly has an appetite for, what suits his constitution and condition; and that, doctors tell him, is in general the very thing he ought to have. And so with books.

As applicable to all of you, I will say that it is highly expedient to go into history; to inquire into what has passed before you on this earth, and in the family of man.

The history of the Romans and Greeks will first of all concern you; and you will find that the classical knowledge you have got will be extremely applicable to elucidate that. There you have two of the most remarkable races of men in the world set before you, calculated to open innumerable reflections and considerations; a mighty advantage, if you can achieve it,—to say nothing of what their two languages will yield you, which your professors can better explain; model languages, which are universally admitted to be the most perfect forms of speech we have yet found to exist among men. And you will find, if you read well, a pair of extremely remarkable nations, shining in the records left by themselves, as a kind of beacon, or solitary mass of illumination, to light up some noble forms of human life for us, in the otherwise utter darkness of the past ages; and it will be well worth your while if you can get into the understanding of what these people were, and what they did. You will find a great deal of hearsay, of empty rumor and tradition, which does not touch on the matter; but perhaps some of you will get to see the old Roman and the old Greek face to face; you will know in some measure how they contrived to exist, and to perform their feats in the world.

I believe, also, you will find one important thing not much

noted, That there was a very great deal of deep religion in both nations. This is pointed out by the wiser kind of historians, and particularly by Ferguson, who is very well worth reading on Roman history,—and who, I believe, was an alumnus of our own university. His book is a very creditable work. He points out the profoundly religious nature of the Roman people, notwithstanding their ruggedly positive, defiant, and fierce ways. They believed that Jupiter Optimus Maximus was lord of the universe, and that he had appointed the Romans to become the chief of nations, provided they followed his commands,—to brave all danger, all difficulty, and stand up with an invincible front, and be ready to do and die; and also to have the same sacred regard to truth of promise, to thorough veracity, thorough integrity, and all the virtues that accompany that noblest quality of man, valor,—to which latter the Romans gave the name of "virtue" proper (*virtus,* manhood), as the crown and summary of all that is ennobling for a man. In the literary ages of Rome this religious feeling had very much decayed away; but it still retained its place among the lower classes of the Roman people. Of the deeply religious nature of the Greeks, along with their beautiful and sunny effulgences of art, you have striking proof, if you look for it. In the tragedies of Sophocles there is a most deep-toned recognition of the eternal justice of Heaven, and the unfailing punishment of crime against the laws of God. I believe you will find in all histories of nations, that this has been at the origin and foundation of them all; and that no nation which did not contemplate this wonderful universe with an awestricken and reverential belief that there was a great unknown, omnipotent, and all-wise and all-just Being, superintending all men in it, and all interests

in it,—no nation ever came to very much, nor did any man either, who forgot that. If a man did forget that, he forgot the most important part of his mission in this world.

Our own history of England, which you will naturally take a great deal of pains to make yourselves acquainted with, you will find beyond all others worthy of your study. For indeed I believe that the British nation,—including in that the Scottish nation,—produced a finer set of men than any you will find it possible to get anywhere else in the world. I don't know, in any history of Greece or Rome, where you will get so fine a man as Oliver Cromwell, for example. And we too have had men worthy of memory, in our little corner of the island here, as well as others; and our history has had its heroic features all along; and did become great at last in being connected with world-history:—for if you examine well, you will find that John Knox was the author, as it were, of Oliver Cromwell; that the Puritan revolution never would have taken place in England at all, had it not been for that Scotchman. That is an authentic fact, and is not prompted by national vanity on my part, but will stand examining.

In fact, if you look at the struggle that was then going on in England, as I have had to do in my time, you will see that people were overawed by the immense impediments lying in the way. A small minority of God-fearing men in that country were flying away, with any ship they could get, to New England, rather than take the lion by the beard. They durst not confront the powers with their most just complaints, and demands to be delivered from idolatry. They wanted to make the nation altogether conformable to the Hebrew Bible, which they, and all men, understood to be the exact transcript of the will of God; and could there be, for man, a more legitimate aim? Nevertheless, it would have been impossible in

their circumstances, and not to be attempted at all, had not Knox succeeded in it here, some fifty years before, by the firmness and nobleness of his mind. For he also is of the select of the earth to me,—John Knox. What he has suffered from the ungrateful generations that have followed him should really make us humble ourselves to the dust, to think that the most excellent man our country has produced, to whom we owe everything that distinguishes us among the nations, should have been so sneered at, misknown, and abused. Knox was heard by Scotland; the people heard him, believed him to the marrow of their bones; they took up his doctrine, and they defied principalities and powers to move them from it. "We must have it," they said; "we will and must!" It was in this state of things that the Puritan struggle arose in England; and you know well how the Scottish earls and nobility, with their tenantry, marched away to Dunse Hill in 1639, and sat down there: just at the crisis of that struggle, when it was either to be suppressed or brought into greater vitality, they encamped on Dunse Hill,—thirty thousand armed men, drawn out for that occasion, each regiment round its landlord, its earl, or whatever he might be called, and zealous all of them "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." That was the signal for all England's rising up into unappeasable determination to have the Gospel there also; and you know it went on, and came to be a contest whether the Parliament or the king should rule; whether it should be old formalities and use-and-wont, or something that had been of new conceived in the souls of men, namely, a divine determination to walk according to the laws of God here, as the sum of all prosperity; which of these should have the mastery: and after a long, long agony of struggle, it was decided—the way we know.

I should say also of that protectorate of Oliver Cromwell's, notwithstanding the censures it has encountered, and the denial of everybody that it could continue in the world, and so on, it appears to me to have been, on the whole, the most salutary thing in the modern history of England. If Oliver Cromwell had continued it out, I don't know what it would have come to. It would have got corrupted probably in other hands, and could not have gone on; but it was pure and true, to the last fibre, in his mind; there was perfect truth in it while he ruled over it.

Machiavelli has remarked, in speaking of the Romans, that democracy cannot long exist anywhere in the world; that as a mode of government, of national management or administration, it involves an impossibility, and after a little while must end in wreck. And he goes on proving that, in his own way. I do not ask you all to follow him in that conviction—but it is to him a clear truth; he considers it a solecism and impossibility that the universal mass of men should ever govern themselves. He has to admit of the Romans, that they continued a long time; but believes it was purely in virtue of this item in their constitution, namely, of their all having the conviction in their minds that it was solemnly necessary, at times, to appoint a dictator; a man who had the power of life and death over everything, who degraded men out of their places, ordered them to execution, and did whatever seemed to him good in the name of God above him. He was commanded to take care that the republic suffer no detriment. And Machiavelli calculates that this was the thing which purified the social system from time to time, and enabled it to continue as it did. Probable enough, if you consider it. And an extremely proper function surely, this of a dictator, if the republic was composed

of little other than bad and tumultuous men, triumphing in general over the better, and all going the bad road, in fact. Well, Oliver Cromwell's protectorate, or dictatorate if you will let me name it so, lasted for about ten years, and you will find that nothing which was contrary to the laws of Heaven was allowed to live by Oliver.

For example, it was found by his Parliament of notables, what they call the "Barebones Parliament,"—the most zealous of all Parliaments probably,—that the court of chancery in England was in a state which was really capable of no apology; no man could get up and say that that was a right court. There were, I think, fifteen thousand, or fifteen hundred,—I really don't remember which, but we will call it by the latter number to be safe; there were fifteen hundred cases lying in it undecided; and one of them, I remember, for a large amount of money, was eighty-three years old, and it was going on still; wigs were wagging over it, and lawyers were taking their fees, and there was no end of it. Upon view of all which, the Barebones people, after deliberation about it, thought it was expedient, and commanded by the Author of Man and Fountain of Justice, and in the name of what was true and right, to abolish said court. Really, I don't know who could have dissented from that opinion. At the same time, it was thought by those who were wiser in their generation, and had more experience of the world, that this was a very dangerous thing, and wouldn't suit at all. The lawyers began to make an immense noise about it. All the public, the great mass of solid and well-disposed people who had got no deep insight into such matters, were very adverse to it: and the Speaker of the Parliament, old Sir Francis Rous,—who translated the Psalms for us, those that we sing here every Sunday in the church yet; a very good man, and

a wise and learned, Provost of Eton College afterwards,—he got a great number of the Parliament to go to Oliver the Dictator, and lay down their functions altogether, and declare officially, with their signature, on Monday morning, that the Parliament was dissolved. The act of abolition had been passed on Saturday night; and on Monday morning Rous came and said, "We cannot carry on the affair any longer, and we remit it into the hands of your Highness." Oliver in that way became Protector, virtually in some sort a Dictator, for the first time.

And I give you this as an instance that Oliver did faithfully set to doing a dictator's function, and of his prudence in it as well. Oliver felt that the Parliament, now dismissed, had been perfectly right with regard to chancery, and that there was no doubt of the propriety of abolishing chancery, or else reforming it in some kind of way. He considered the matter, and this is what he did. He assembled fifty or sixty of the wisest lawyers to be found in England. Happily, there were men great in the law; men who valued the laws of England as much as anybody ever did; and who knew withal that there was something still more sacred than any of these. Oliver said to them, "Go and examine this thing, and in the name of God inform me what is necessary to be done with it. You will see how we may clean out the foul things in that chancery court, which render it poison to everybody." Well, they sat down accordingly, and in the course of six weeks,—(there was no public speaking then, no reporting of speeches, and no babble of any kind, there was just the business in hand),—they got some sixty propositions fixed in their minds as the summary of the things that required to be done. And upon these sixty propositions chancery was reconstituted and remodelled; and so it got a new lease of life and has lasted

to our time. It had become a nuisance and could not have continued much longer. That is an instance of the manner of things that were done when a dictatorship prevailed in the country, and that was how the dictator did them. I reckon, all England, Parliamentary England, got a new lease of life from that dictatorship of Oliver's; and, on the whole, that the good fruits of it will never die while England exists as a nation.

In general, I hardly think that out of common history books you will ever get into the real history of this country, or ascertain anything which can specially illuminate it for you, and which it would most of all behove you to know. You may read very ingenious and very clever books, by men whom it would be the height of insolence in me to do other than express my respect for. But their position is essentially sceptical. God and the Godlike, as our fathers would have said, has fallen asleep for them; and plays no part in their histories. A most sad and fatal condition of matters; who shall say how fatal to us all! A man unhappily in that condition will make but a temporary explanation of anything; in short, you will not be able, I believe, by aid of these men, to understand how this island came to be what it is. You will not find it recorded in books. You will find recorded in books a jumble of tumults, disastrous ineptitudes, and all that kind of thing. But to get what you want, you will have to look into side sources, and inquire in all directions.

I remember getting Collins's " Peerage " to read,—a very poor performance as a work of genius, but an excellent book for diligence and fidelity. I was writing on Oliver Cromwell at the time. I could get no biographical dictionary available; and I thought the peerage book, since most of my men were peers or sons of peers, would help me, at least would tell me

whether people were old or young, where they lived, and the like particulars, better than absolute nescience and darkness. And accordingly I found amply all I had expected in poor Collins, and got a great deal of help out of him. He was a diligent dull London bookseller, of about a hundred years ago, who compiled out of all kinds of parchments, charter-chests, archives, books that were authentic, and gathered far and wide, wherever he could get it, the information wanted. He was a very meritorious man.

I not only found the solution of everything I had expected there, but I began gradually to perceive this immense fact, which I really advise every one of you who read history to look out for, if you have not already found it. It was that the kings of England, all the way from the Norman Conquest down to the times of Charles I, had actually, in a good degree, so far as they knew, been in the habit of appointing as peers those who deserved to be appointed. In general, I perceived, those peers of theirs were all royal men of a sort, with minds full of justice, valor, and humanity, and all kinds of qualities that men ought to have who rule over others. And then their genealogy, the kind of sons and descendants they had, this also was remarkable; for there is a great deal more in genealogy than is generally believed at present. I never heard tell of any clever man that came of entirely stupid people. If you look around among the families of your acquaintance you will see such cases in all directions; I know that my own experience is steadily that way; I can trace the father, and the son, and the grandson, and the family stamp is quite distinctly legible upon each of them. So that it goes for a great deal, the hereditary principle,—in government as in other things; and it must be again recognized so soon as there is any fixity in things. You will remark, too, in your

Collins, that if at any time the genealogy of a peerage goes awry, if the man that actually holds the peerage is a fool,—in those earnest practical times, the man soon gets into mischief, gets into treason probably,—soon gets himself and his peerage extinguished altogether, in short.

From those old documents of Collins you learn and ascertain that a peer conducts himself in a pious, high-minded, grave, dignified, and manly kind of way in his course through life; and when he takes leave of life his last will is often a remarkable piece which one lingers over. And then you perceive that there was kindness in him as well as rigor, pity for the poor; that he has fine hospitalities, generosities,—in fine, that he is throughout much of a noble, good, and valiant man. And that in general the king, with a beautiful approximation to accuracy, had nominated this kind of man; saying, "Come you to me, sir. Come out of the common level of the people, where you are liable to be trampled upon, jostled about, and can do in a manner nothing with your fine gift; come here and take a district of country, and make it into your own image more or less; be a king under me, and understand that that is your function." I say this is the most divine thing that a human being can do to other human beings, and no kind of thing whatever has so much of the character of God Almighty's divine government as that thing, which, we see, went on all over England for about six hundred years. That is the grand soul of England's history. It is historically true that, down to the time of James, or even Charles I, it was not understood that any man was made a peer without having merit in him to constitute him a proper subject for a peerage. In Charles I's time it grew to be known or said that if a man was born a gentleman, and cared to lay out £10,000 judiciously up and down among courtiers,

he could be made a peer. Under Charles II it went on still faster, and has been going on with ever-increasing velocity, until we see the perfectly breakneck pace at which they are going now, so that now a peerage is a paltry kind of thing to what it was in those old times. I could go into a great many more details about things of that sort, but I must turn to another branch of the subject.

First, however, one remark more about your reading. I do not know whether it has been sufficiently brought home to you that there are two kinds of books. When a man is reading on any kind of subject, in most departments of books,—in all books, if you take it in a wide sense,—he will find that there is a division into good books and bad books. Everywhere a good kind of book and a bad kind of book. I am not to assume that you are unacquainted, or ill acquainted, with this plain fact; but I may remind you that it is becoming a very important consideration in our day. And we have to cast aside altogether the idea people have, that if they are reading any book, that if an ignorant man is reading any book, he is doing rather better than nothing at all. I must entirely call that in question; I even venture to deny that. It would be much safer and better for many a reader, that he had no concern with books at all. There is a number, a frightfully increasing number, of books that are decidedly, to the readers of them, not useful. But an ingenuous reader will learn, also, that a certain number of books were written by a supremely noble kind of people,—not a very great number of books, but still a number fit to occupy all your reading industry do adhere more or less to that side of things. In short, as I have written it down somewhere else, I conceive that books are like men's souls; divided into sheep and goats. Some few are going up, and carrying us up, heavenward;

calculated, I mean, to be of priceless advantage in teaching,—in forwarding the teaching of all generations. Others, a frightful multitude, are going down, down; doing ever the more and the wider and the wilder mischief. Keep a strict eye on that latter class of books, my young friends!

And for the rest, in regard to all your studies and readings here, and to whatever you may learn, you are to remember that the object is not particular knowledges,—not that of getting higher and higher in technical perfections, and all that sort of thing. There is a higher aim lying at the rear of all that, especially among those who are intended for literary or speaking pursuits, or the sacred profession. You are ever to bear in mind that there lies behind that the acquisition of what may be called wisdom; namely, sound appreciation and just decision as to all the objects that come round you, and the habit of behaving with justice, candor, clear insight, and loyal adherence to fact. Great is wisdom; infinite is the value of wisdom. It cannot be exaggerated; it is the highest achievement of man: "Blessed is he that getteth understanding." And that, I believe, on occasion, may be missed very easily; never more easily than now, I sometimes think. If that is a failure, all is failure! However, I will not touch further upon that matter.

But I should have said, in regard to book-reading, if it be so very important, how very useful would an excellent library be in every university! I hope that will not be neglected by the gentlemen who have charge of you; and, indeed, I am happy to hear that your library is very much improved since the time I knew it, and I hope it will go on improving more and more. Nay, I have sometimes thought, why should not there be a library in every county town, for benefit of those that could read well, and might if permitted? True, you re-

quire money to accomplish that; and withal, what perhaps is still less attainable at present, you require judgment in the selectors of books; real insight into what is for the advantage of human souls, the exclusion of all kinds of clap-trap books which merely excite the astonishment of foolish people, and the choice of wise books, as much as possible of good books. Let us hope the future will be kind to us in this respect.

In this university, as I learn from many sides, there is considerable stir about endowments; an assiduous and praiseworthy industry for getting new funds collected to encourage the ingenuous youth of universities, especially of this our chief university. Well, I entirely participate in everybody's approval of the movement. It is very desirable. It should be responded to, and one surely expects it will. At least, if it is not, it will be shameful to the country of Scotland, which never was so rich in money as at the present moment, and never stood so much in need of getting noble universities and institutions to counteract many influences that are springing up alongside of money. It should not be slack in coming forward in the way of endowments; at any rate, to the extent of rivalling our rude old barbarous ancestors, as we have been pleased to call them. Such munificence as theirs is beyond all praise; and to them, I am sorry to say, we are not yet by any manner of means equal, or approaching equality. There is an abundance and over-abundance of money. Sometimes I cannot help thinking that probably never has there been, at any other time, in Scotland, the hundredth part of the money that now is, or even the thousandth part. For wherever I go, there is that same gold nuggeting,—that "unexampled prosperity," and men counting their balances by the million sterling. Money was never so abundant, and nothing that is good to be done with it. No man knows—or very

few men know—what benefit to get out of his money. In fact, it too often is secretly a curse to him. Much better for him never to have had any. But I do not expect that generally to be believed. Nevertheless, I should think it would be a beneficent relief to many a rich man who has an honest purpose struggling in him, to bequeath some house of refuge, so to speak, for the gifted poor man who may hereafter be born into the world, to enable him to get on his way a little. To do, in fact, as those old Norman kings whom I have been describing; to raise some noble poor man out of the dirt and mud, where he is getting trampled on unworthily by the unworthy, into some kind of position where he might acquire the power to do a little good in his generation! I hope that as much as possible will be achieved in this direction; and that efforts will not be relaxed till the thing is in a satisfactory state. In regard to the classical department, above all, it surely is to be desired by us that it were properly supported, —that we could allow the fit people to have their scholarships and subventions, and devote more leisure to the cultivation of particular departments. We might have more of this from Scotch universities than we have; and I hope we shall.

I am bound, however, to say that it does not appear as if, of late times, endowment were the real soul of the matter. The English, for example, are the richest people in the world for endowments in their universities; and it is an evident fact that, since the time of Bentley, you cannot name anybody that has gained a European name in scholarship, or constituted a point of revolution in the pursuits of men in that way. The man who does so is a man worthy of being remembered; and he is poor, and not an Englishman. One man that actually did constitute a revolution was the son of a poor weaver in Saxony; who edited his Tibullus, in Dresden, in a

poor comrade's garret, with the floor for his bed, and two folios for pillow; and who, while editing his Tibullus, had to gather peasecods on the streets and boil them for his dinner. That was his endowment. But he was recognized soon to have done a great thing. His name was Heyne. I can remember, it was quite a revolution in my mind when I got hold of that man's edition of Virgil. I found that, for the first time, I understood Virgil; that Heyne had introduced me, for the first time, into an insight of Roman life and ways of thought; had pointed out the circumstances in which these works were written, and given me their interpretation. And the process has gone on in all manner of developments, and has spread out into other countries.

On the whole, there is one reason why endowments are not given now as they were in old days, when men founded abbeys, colleges, and all kinds of things of that description, with such success as we know. All that has now changed; a vast decay of zeal in that direction. And truly the reason may in part be, that people have become doubtful whether colleges are now the real sources of what I called wisdom; whether they are anything more, anything much more, than a cultivating of man in the specific arts. In fact, there has been in the world a suspicion of that kind for a long time. There goes a proverb of old date, "An ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy." There is a suspicion that a man is perhaps not nearly so wise as he looks, or because he has poured out speech so copiously. When "the seven free arts," which the old universities were based on, came to be modified a little, in order to be convenient for the wants of modern society,—though perhaps some of them are obsolete enough even yet for some of us,—there arose a feeling that mere vocality, mere culture of speech, if that is what comes

out of a man, is not the synonym of wisdom by any means! That a man may be a "great speaker," as eloquent as you like, and but little real substance in him,—especially, if that is what was required and aimed at by the man himself, and by the community that set him upon becoming a learned man. Maid-servants, I hear people complaining, are getting instructed in the "ologies," and are apparently becoming more and more ignorant of brewing, boiling, and baking; and above all, are not taught what is necessary to be known, from the highest of us to the lowest,—faithful obedience, modesty, humility, and correct moral conduct.

Oh, it is a dismal chapter all that, if one went into it,—what has been done by rushing after fine speech! I have written down some very fierce things about that, perhaps considerably more emphatic than I could now wish them to be; but they were and are deeply my conviction. There is very great necessity indeed of getting a little more silent than we are. It seems to me as if the finest nations of the world,—the English and the American, in chief,—were going all off into wind and tongue. But it will appear sufficiently tragical by and by, long after I am away out of it. There is a time to speak, and a time to be silent. Silence withal is the eternal duty of a man. He won't get to any real understanding of what is complex, and what is more than aught else pertinent to his interests, without keeping silence too. "Watch the tongue," is a very old precept, and a most true one.

I don't want to discourage any of you from your Demosthenes, and your studies of the niceties of language, and all that. Believe me, I value that as much as any one of you. I consider it a very graceful thing, and a most proper, for every human creature to know what the implement which he uses in communicating his thoughts is, and how to make the

very utmost of it. I want you to study Demosthenes, and to know all his excellences. At the same time, I must say that speech, in the case even of Demosthenes, does not seem, on the whole, to have turned to almost any good account. He advised next to nothing that proved practicable; much of the reverse. Why tell me that a man is a fine speaker, if it is not the truth that he is speaking? Phocion, who mostly did not speak at all, was a great deal nearer hitting the mark than Demosthenes. He used to tell the Athenians, "You can't fight Philip. Better if you don't provoke him, as Demosthenes is always urging you to do. You have not the slightest chance with Philip. He is a man who holds his tongue; he has great disciplined armies; a full treasury; can bribe anybody you like in your cities here; he is going on steadily with an unvarying aim toward his object; while you, with your idle clamorings, with your Cleon the Tanner spouting to you what you take for wisdom! Philip will infallibly beat any set of men such as you, going on raging from shore to shore with all that rampant nonsense." Demosthenes said to him once, "Phocion, you will drive the Athenians mad some day, and they will kill you." "Yes," Phocion answered, "me, when they go mad; and as soon as they get sane again, you!"

It is also told of him how he went once to Messene, on some deputation which the Athenians wanted him to head, on some kind of matter of an intricate and contentious nature: Phocion went accordingly; and had, as usual, a clear story to have told for himself and his case. He was a man of few words, but all of them true and to the point. And so he had gone on telling his story for a while, when there arose some interruption. One man, interrupting with something, he tried to answer; then another, the like; till finally, too

many went in, and all began arguing and bawling in endless debate. Whereupon Phocion struck down his staff; drew back altogether, and would speak no other word to any man. It appears to me there is a kind of eloquence in that rap of Phocion's staff which is equal to anything Demosthenes ever said: "Take your own way, then; I go out of it altogether."

Such considerations, and manifold more connected with them,—innumerable considerations, resulting from observation of the world at this epoch,—have led various people to doubt of the salutary effect of vocal education altogether. I do not mean to say it should be entirely excluded; but I look to something that will take hold of the matter much more closely, and not allow it to slip out of our fingers and remain worse than it was. For, if a "good speaker," never so eloquent, does not see into the fact, and is not speaking the truth of that, but the untruth and the mistake of that, is there a more horrid kind of object in creation? Of such speech I hear all manner of people say, "How excellent!" Well, really it is not the speech, but the thing spoken, that I am anxious about! I really care very little how the man said it provided I understand him and it be true. Excellent speaker? But what if he is telling me things that are contrary to the fact; what if he has formed a wrong judgment about the fact; if he has in his mind (like Phocion's friend, Cleon the Tanner) no power to form a right judgment in regard to the matter? An excellent speaker of that kind is, as it were, saying, "Ho, every one that wants to be persuaded of the thing that is not true; here is the man for you!" I recommend you to be very chary of that kind of excellent speech.

Well, all that sad stuff being the too-well-known product of our method of vocal education,—the teacher merely

operating on the tongue of the pupil, and teaching him to wag it in a particular way,—it has made various thinking men entertain a distrust of this not very salutary way of procedure; and they have longed for some less theoretic, and more practical and concrete way of working out the problem of education,—in effect, for an education not vocal at all, but mute except where speaking was strictly needful. There would be room for a great deal of description about this if I went into it; but I must content myself with saying that the most remarkable piece of writing on it is in a book of Goethe's,—the whole of which you may be recommended to take up and try if you can study it with understanding. It is one of his last books; written when he was an old man above seventy years of age: I think, one of the most beautiful he ever wrote; full of meek wisdom, of intellect and piety; which is found to be strangely illuminative and very touching by those who have eyes to discern and hearts to feel it. This about education is one of the pieces in "Wilhelm Meister's Travels;" or rather, in a fitful way, it forms the whole gist of the book. I first read it many years ago, and, of course, I had to read into the very heart of it while I was translating it; and it has ever since dwelt in my mind as perhaps the most remarkable bit of writing which I have known to be executed in these late centuries. I have often said that there are some ten pages of that, which, if ambition had been my only rule, I would rather have written, been able to write, than have written all the books that have appeared since I came into the world. Deep, deep is the meaning of what is said there. Those pages turn on the Christian religion, and the religious phenomena of the modern and the ancient world: altogether sketched out in the most aerial, graceful, delicately wise kind of way, so as to keep himself out of the common controversies

of the street and of the forum, yet to indicate what was the result of things he had been long meditating upon.

Among others, he introduces in an airy, sketchy kind of way, with here and there a touch,—the sum total of which grows into a beautiful picture,—a scheme of entirely mute education, at least with no more speech than is absolutely necessary for what the pupils have to do. Three of the wisest men discoverable in the world have been got together to consider, to manage and supervise the function which transcends all others in importance,—that of building up the young generation so as to keep it free from that perilous stuff that has been weighing us down, and clogging every step,—which function, indeed, is the only thing we can hope to go on with, if we would leave the world a little better, and not the worse, of our having been in it, for those who are to follow. The Chief, who is the Eldest of the three, says to Wilhelm: "Healthy, well-formed children bring into the world with them many precious gifts; and very frequently these are best of all developed by Nature herself, with but slight assistance, where assistance is seen to be wise and profitable, and with forbearance very often on the part of the overseer of the process. But there is one thing which no child brings into the world with him, and without which all other things are of no use." Wilhelm, who is there beside him, asks, "And what is that?" "All want it," says the Eldest; "perhaps you yourself." Wilhelm says, "Well, but tell me what it is?" "It is," answers the other, "Reverence (*Ehrfurcht*); Reverence!" Honor done to those who are greater and better than ourselves; honor distinct from fear. *Ehrfurcht;* the soul of all religion that has ever been among men, or ever will be.

And then he goes into details about the religions of the modern and the ancient world. He practically distinguishes

the kinds of religion that are, or have been, in the world; and says that for men there are three reverences. The boys are all trained to go through certain gesticulations; to lay their hands on their breast and look up to heaven in sign of the first reverence; other forms for the other two: so they give their three reverences. The first and simplest is that of reverence for what is above us. It is the soul of all the Pagan religions; there is nothing better in the antique man than that. Then there is reverence for what is around us,—reverence for our equals, to which he attributes an immense power in the culture of man. The third is reverence for what is beneath us; to learn to recognize in pain, in sorrow and contradiction, even in those things odious to flesh and blood, what divine meanings are in them; to learn that there lies in these also, and more than in any of the preceding, a priceless blessing. And he defines that as being the soul of the Christian religion,—the highest of all religions; "a height," as Goethe says (and that is very true, even to the letter, as I consider), "a height to which mankind was fated and enabled to attain; and from which, having once attained it, they can never retrograde." Man cannot quite lose that (Goethe thinks), or permanently descend below it again; but always, even in the most degraded, sunken, and unbelieving times he calculates there will be found some few souls who will recognize what this highest of the religions meant; and that, the world having once received it, there is no fear of its ever wholly disappearing.

The Eldest then goes on to explain by what methods they seek to educate and train their boys,—in the trades, in the arts, in the sciences, in whatever pursuit the boy is found best fitted for. Beyond all, they are anxious to discover the boy's aptitudes; and they try him and watch him continually,

in many wise ways, till by degrees they can discover this. Wilhelm had left his own boy there, perhaps expecting they would make him a Master of Arts, or something of the kind; and on coming back for him, he sees a thundercloud of dust rushing over the plain, of which he can make nothing. It turns out to be a tempest of wild horses managed by young lads who had a turn for horsemanship, for hunting, and being grooms. His own son is among them; and he finds that the breaking of colts has been the thing he was most suited for.

The highest outcome and most precious of all the fruits that are to spring from this ideal mode of educating is what Goethe calls Art; of which I could at present give no definition that would make it clear to you, unless it were clearer already than is likely. Goethe calls it music, painting, poetry; but it is in quite a higher sense than the common one; and a sense in which, I am afraid, most of our painters, poets and music men would not pass muster. He considers this as the highest pitch to which human culture can go,—infinitely valuable and ennobling,—and he watches with great industry how it is to be brought about in the men who have a turn for it. Very wise and beautiful his notion of the matter is. It gives one an idea that something far better and higher, something as high as ever, and indubitably true too, is still possible for man in this world. And that is all I can say to you of Goethe's fine theorem of mute education.

I confess it seems to me there is in it a shadow of what will one day be,—will and must, unless the world is to come to a conclusion that is altogether frightful,—some kind of scheme of education analogous to that; presided over by the wisest and most sacred men that can be got in the world, and watching from a distance: a training in practicality at every turn;

no speech in it except speech that is to be followed by action, for that ought to be the rule as nearly as possible among men. Not very often or much, rarely rather, should a man speak at all, unless it is for the sake of something that is to be done; this spoken, let him go and do his part in it, and say no more about it.

I will only add that it is possible,—all this fine theorem of Goethe's, or something similar! Consider what we have already; and what "difficulties" we have overcome. I should say there is nothing in the world you can conceive so difficult, *prima facie*, as that of getting a set of men gathered together as soldiers. Rough, rude, ignorant, disobedient people; you gather them together, promise them a shilling a day; rank them up, give them very severe and sharp drill; and by bullying and drilling and compelling (the word drilling, if you go to the original, means "beating," "steadily tormenting" to the due pitch), they do learn what it is necessary to learn; and there is your man in red coat, a trained soldier; piece of an animated machine incomparably the most potent in this world; a wonder of wonders to look at. He will go where bidden; obeys one man, will walk into the cannon's mouth for him; does punctually whatever is commanded by his general officer. And, I believe, all manner of things of this kind could be accomplished, if there were the same attention bestowed. Very many things could be regimented, organized into this mute system; and perhaps in some of the mechanical, commercial, and manufacturing departments some faint incipiences may be attempted before very long. For the saving of human labor, and the avoidance of human misery, the effects would be incalculable were it set about and begun even in part.

Alas, it is painful to think how very far away it all is,—

any real fulfilment of such things! For I need not hide from you, young gentlemen,—and it is one of the last things I am going to tell you,—that you have got into a very troublous epoch of the world; and I don't think you will find your path in it to be smoother than ours has been, though you have many advantages which we had not. You have careers open to you, by public examinations and so on, which is a thing much to be approved of and which we hope to see perfected more and more. All that was entirely unknown in my time, and you have many things to recognize as advantages. But you will find the ways of the world, I think, more anarchical than ever. Look where one will, revolution has come upon us. We have got into the age of revolutions. All kinds of things are coming to be subjected to fire, as it were, —hotter and hotter blows the element round everything. Curious to see how, in Oxford and other places that used to seem as lying at anchor in the stream of time, regardless of all changes, they are getting into the highest humor of mutation, and all sorts of new ideas are afloat. It is evident that whatever is not inconsumable, made of asbestos, will have to be burnt in this world. Nothing other will stand the heat it is getting exposed to.

And in saying that, I am but saying in other words that we are in an epoch of anarchy. Anarchy plus a constable! There is nobody that picks one's pocket without some policeman being ready to take him up. But in every other point man is becoming more and more the son, not of cosmos, but of chaos. He is a disobedient, discontented, reckless, and altogether waste kind of object (the commonplace man is, in these epochs); and the wiser kind of man,—the select few, of whom I hope you will be part,—has more and more to see to this, to look vigilantly forward; and will require to

move with double wisdom. Will find, in short, that the crooked things he has got to pull straight in his own life all round him, wherever he may go, are manifold and will task all his strength, however great it be.

But why should I complain of that either? For that is the thing a man is born to in all epochs. He is born to expend every particle of strength that God Almighty has given him, in doing the work he finds he is fit for; to stand up to it to the last breath of life and do his best. We are called upon to do that; and the reward we all get,—which we are perfectly sure of, if we have merited it,—is that we have got the work done, or at least that we have tried to do the work. For that is a great blessing in itself; and I should say there is not very much more reward than that going in this world. If the man gets meat and clothes, what matters it whether he buy those necessaries with seven thousand a year, or with seven million, could that be, or with seventy pounds a year? He can get meat and clothes for that; and he will find intrinsically, if he is a wise man, wonderfully little real difference.

On the whole, avoid what is called ambition; that is not a fine principle to go upon,—and it has in it all degrees of vulgarity, if that is a consideration. "Seekest thou great things, seek them not:" I warmly second that advice of the wisest of men. Don't be ambitious; don't too much need success; be loyal and modest. Cut down the proud towering thoughts that get into you, or see that they be pure as well as high. There is a nobler ambition than the gaining of all California would be, or the getting of all the suffrages that are on the planet just now.

Finally, gentlemen, I have one advice to give you, which is practically of very great importance, though a very humble

one. In the midst of your zeal and ardor,—for such, I foresee, will rise high enough, in spite of all the counsels to moderate it that I can give you,—remember the care of health. I have no doubt you have among you young souls ardently bent to consider life cheap, for the purpose of getting forward in what they are aiming at of high; but you are to consider throughout, much more than is done at present, and what it would have been a very great thing for me if I had been able to consider, that health is a thing to be attended to continually; that you are to regard that as the very highest of all temporal things for you. There is no kind of achievement you could make in the world that is equal to perfect health. What to it are nuggets and millions? The French financier said, "Why, is there no sleep to be sold!" Sleep was not in the market at any quotation.

It is a curious thing which I remarked long ago, and have often turned in my head, that the old word for "holy" in the Teutonic languages, *heilig* also means "healthy." Thus *Heilbronn* means indifferently "holy well" or "health well." We have in the Scotch, too, "hale," and its derivatives; and, I suppose, our English word "whole" (with a "w"), all of one piece, without any hole in it, is the same word. I find that you could not get any better definition of what "holy" really is than "healthy." Completely healthy; *mens sana in corpore sano*—a man all lucid and in equilibrium. His intellect a clear mirror geometrically plane, brilliantly sensitive to all objects and impressions made on it, and imaging all things in their correct proportions; not twisted up into convex or concave, and distorting everything, so that he cannot see the truth of the matter without endless groping and manipulation; healthy, clear, and free, and discerning truly all round him. We never can attain that at all. In fact,

the operations we have got into are destructive of it. You cannot, if you are going to do any decisive intellectual operation that will last a long while; if, for instance, you are going to write a book,—you cannot manage it (at least, I never could) without getting decidedly made ill by it: and really one nevertheless must; if it is your business, you are obliged to follow out what you are at, and to do it, if even at the expense of health. Only remember at all times to get back as fast as possible out of it into health; and regard that as the real equilibrium and centre of things. You should always look at the *heilig*, which means "holy" as well as "healthy."

And that old etymology,—what a lesson it is against certain gloomy, austere, ascetic people, who have gone about as if this world were all a dismal prison house! It has indeed got all the ugly things in it which I have been alluding to; but there is an eternal sky over it; and the blessed sunshine, the green of prophetic spring, and rich harvests coming,—all this is in it too. Piety does not mean that a man should make a sour face about things, and refuse to enjoy wisely what his Maker has given. Neither do you find it to have been so with the best sort,—with old Knox, in particular. No, if you look into Knox, you will find a beautiful Scotch humor in him, as well as the grimmest and sternest truth when necessary, and a great deal of laughter. We find really some of the sunniest glimpses of things come out of Knox that I have seen in any man; for instance, in his "History of the Reformation,"—which is a book I hope every one of you will read, a glorious old book.

On the whole, I would bid you stand up to your work, whatever it may be, and not be afraid of it; not in sorrows or contradictions to yield, but to push on toward the goal.

And don't suppose that people are hostile to you or have you at ill will, in the world. In general, you will rarely find anybody designedly doing you ill. You may feel often as if the whole world were obstructing you, setting itself against you; but you will find that to mean only that the world is travelling in a different way from you, and, rushing on in its own path, heedlessly treads on you. That is mostly all: to you no specific ill will; only each has an extremely good will to himself, which he has a right to have, and is rushing on toward his object. Keep out of literature, I should say also, as a general rule,—though that is by the bye. If you find many people who are hard and indifferent to you, in a world which you consider to be inhospitable and cruel, as often indeed happens to a tender-hearted, striving young creature, you will also find there are noble hearts who will look kindly on you; and their help will be precious to you beyond price. You will get good and evil as you go on, and have the success that has been appointed you.

I will wind up with a small bit of verse, which is from Goethe also, and has often gone through my mind. To me it has something of a modern psalm in it, in some measure. It is deep as the foundations, deep and high, and it is true and clear; no clearer man, or nobler and grander intellect has lived in the world, I believe, since Shakespeare left it. This is what the poet sings; a kind of road-melody or marching-music of mankind:

"The Future hides in it
Gladness and sorrow;
We press still thorow,
Naught that abides in it
Daunting us,— onward.

And solemn before us,
Veiled, the dark Portal;
Goal of all mortal:—
Stars silent rest o'er us,

While earnest thou gazest,
Comes boding of terror,
Comes phantasm and error;
Perplexes the bravest
With doubt and misgiving.

But heard are the Voices,
Heard are the Sages,
The Worlds and the Ages:
'Choose well; your choice is
Brief, and yet endless.

Here eyes do regard you,
In Eternity's stillness;
Here is all fulness,
Ye brave, to reward you;
Work, and despair not!'"

Work, and despair not: *Wir heissen euch hoffen*, "We bid you be of hope!"—let that be my last word. Gentlemen, I thank you for your great patience in hearing me; and, with many most kind wishes, say adieu for this time.

MANN

HORACE MANN, a famous American educator and philanthropist, was born in Franklin, Massachusetts, May 4, 1796. His father was a farmer in limited circumstances, and the son was forced by his own exertions to procure means for obtaining an education. As a child he earned his school-books by braiding straw, and from the age of ten years to twenty he never had more than six weeks of schooling during any year. He was graduated at Brown in 1819, and acted as tutor there in Latin and Greek until he entered the law school at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1821. In 1823 he was admitted to the bar, and began the practice of law in Dedham, Massachusetts. He was elected to the legislature in 1827, and while in that body was active in the interests of education, public charities, and the suppression of vice. Mr. Mann established the state lunatic asylum at Worcester through his own personal exertions, and in 1833 was chairman of its board of trustees. He was elected to the state senate from Boston in 1833, was its president in 1836-7, and from the latter year until 1848 was secretary of the Massachusetts board of education. During the time he served in this capacity he gave invaluable aid to the cause of education, established normal schools, and brought about a thorough reform in the school system of the state. In 1848 he was elected to Congress as a Whig to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John Quincy Adams, and while in that body strongly advocated the cause of anti-slavery. In September, 1852, he was nominated for governor of Massachusetts by the Free-Soil party, and the same day was chosen president of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Failing of his election as governor, he accepted the presidency of the college and retained it until his death, which occurred in Yellow Springs, August 2, 1859, hastened by his untiring efforts in behalf of the institution.

ON THE THREATENED DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION

FROM SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 15, 1850

SIR, if a civil war should ensue between the North and the South (which may God, in his mercy, avert) in consequence of an attempt to dissolve this Union, and the certain resistance which would be made to such an attempt, it would be difficult to exaggerate the immediate evils which would befall the interests of New England and some other parts of the North. Our manufactures and our commerce

would suffer at least a temporary derangement. But we have boundless resources in our enterprise and our intelligence. Knowledge and industry are recuperative energies that can never long be balked in their quest of prosperity.

The people that bore the embargo of 1807, and the war of 1812, when all their capital was embarked in commerce, can survive any change that does not stop the revolution of the seasons or suspend the great laws of nature. And, when the day of peace again returns, business will return to its old channels. The South, notwithstanding any personal hostility, will be as ready to take Northern gold as though it had come from the English mint; and they will employ those first who will do their manufacturing or their commercial labor cheapest and best.

Gold is a great pacificator between nations; and, in this money-loving age, mutual interests will in the end subdue mutual hostilities. Our share, therefore, of the calamities of a civil war will be mainly of a pecuniary nature. They will not be intolerable. They will invade none of the securities of home; they will not associate poison with our daily food nor murder and conflagration with our nightly repose, nor black violation with the sanctities of our daughters and our wives.

Even in a pecuniary point of view a dissolution of our political ties would cause less immediate and intense suffering at the North than at the South. Our laws and institutions are all framed so as to encourage the poor man, and, by education, to elevate his children above the condition of their parents; but their laws and institutions all tend to aggrandize the rich and to perpetuate power in their hands. Were it not for the visions of horror and of bloodshed which Southern threats have so intimately associated with this controversy, one remarkable feature, which has hitherto been eclipsed, would have been

most conspicuous. With every philanthropic Northern man a collateral motive for keeping the new Territories free is that they may be a land of hope and of promise to the poor man, to whichever of all our States he may belong, where he may go and find a home and a homestead and abundance.

But the South, in attempting to open these Territories to slaveholders would give them to the rich alone—would give them to less than three hundred thousand persons out of a population of six millions. The interests of the poorer classes at the South all demand free territory, where they can go and rise at once to an equality with their fellow citizens, which they never can do at home. They are natural abolitionists, and unless blinded by ignorance or overawed by their social superiors, they will so declare themselves.

Every intelligent and virtue-loving wife or mother at the South, when she thinks of her husband and her sons, is forced to be an abolitionist. The attempt, therefore, to subject the new Territories to the law of slavery is not made in the name of one half of the people of the United States; it is not made for the six millions, more or less, who inhabit the slave States; but it is made for less than three hundred thousand slaveholders among more than twenty millions of people.

There is one other "hazard," sir, which the South invokes and defies, which, to her high-minded and honor-loving sons should be more formidable than all the rest. She is defying the Spirit of the Age. She is not only defying the judgment of contemporaries, but invoking upon herself the execrations of posterity. Mark the progress in the public sentiment of Christendom within the last few centuries on the subject of slavery and the rights of man. After the discovery of this continent by Columbus, the ecclesiastics of Spain held councils to discuss the question whether the aborigines of this country

had or had not souls to be saved. They left this question undecided; but they said, as it was possible that the nations of the New World might have an immortal spirit, they would send them the Gospel so as to be on the safe side; and the mission of Las Casas was the result.

In the time of Lord Coke, only a little more than two centuries ago, the doctrine was openly avowed and held, in Westminster Hall, that the heathen had no rights; and therefore that it was lawful for Christians to drive them out of their inheritance, and to despoil them, as the Jews despoiled the Egyptians and drove out the Canaanites. During the seventeenth century all the commercial nations of Europe engaged in the African slave trade without compunction or reproach. In the last, or eighteenth century, the horrors of that trade were aggravated by such demoniacal atrocities as, were it not for some redeeming attributes among men, would have made the human race immortally hateful.

Even when our own constitution was formed, in 1787, this dreadful traffic was not only sanctioned, but a solemn compact was entered into by which all prohibition of it was prohibited for twenty years. Yet in the year 1820, after the lapse of only thirty-three years, this very trade was declared to be piracy—the highest offence known to the law—and the felon's death was denounced against all principals and abettors.

We are often reminded by gentlemen of the South that, at the time of the adoption of that constitution, slavery existed in almost every State in the Union; and that some Northern merchants, by a devilish alchemy, transmuted gold from its tears and blood. But can they read no lesson as to the progress of the age from the fact that all those States have since abjured slavery of their own free will; and that, at the present day it would be more tolerable for any Northern merchant,

rather than to be reasonably suspected of the guilt of this traffic, to be cast into the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar seven times heated. In Europe the tide of liberty, though meeting with obstructions from firm-seated dynasties and time-strengthened prerogative, still rises and sweeps onward with unebbing flow. In France revolutions follow each other in quicker and quicker succession. These revolutions are only gigantic struggles of the popular will to escape from oppression; and at each struggle the giant snaps a chain.

Great Britain, which in former times sent more vessels to the coast of Africa to kidnap and transport its natives than all the other nations of the earth together, now maintains a fleet upon that same coast to suppress the trade she so lately encouraged. Three times during the present century has that government escaped civil commotion by making large concessions to popular rights. Since the year 1814 written constitutions have been extorted by the people from more than three fourths of all the sovereigns of Europe. What a tempest now beats upon Austria from all points of the compass because, during the last season, she attempted only to half-enslave the Hungarians,—because she attempted to do what, during the last century, she might have done without a remonstrance. The rights of individuals, not less than the rights of communities, have emerged from oblivion into recognition and have become law. Penal codes have been ameliorated and barbarous customs abolished. There are now but two places on the globe where a woman can be publicly whipped,—in Hungary and in the southern States! And the universal scorn and hissing with which the rules of the former country have been visited for their women-whipping and their execution of those whose sole crime was their love of freedom only foretokens that fiercer scorn and louder hissing with which, from all sides

of the civilized world, the latter will soon be visited. Let the high-toned and chivalrous sons of the South,—those "who feel a stain upon their honor like a wound,"—think of all this, as one in the long catalogue of "hazards" upon which they are rushing.

Sir, the leading minds in a community are mainly responsible for the fortunes of that community. Under God, the men of education, of talent, and of attainment, turn the tide of human affairs. Where great social distinctions exist, the intelligence and the wealth of a few stimulate or suppress the volition of the masses. They are the sensorium of the body politic, and their social inferiors are the mighty limbs which, for good or for evil, they wield. Such is the relation which the three hundred thousand, or less than three hundred thousand, slave-owners of the South hold to their fellow citizens. They can light the torch of civil war or they can quench it. But if civil war once blazes forth it is not given to mortal wisdom to extinguish or control it. It comes under other and mightier laws, under other and mightier agencies. Human passions feed the combustion; and the flame which the breath of a man has kindled, the passions of the multitude—stronger than the breath of the hurricane—will spread. Among these passions, one of the strongest and boldest is the love of liberty which dwells in every bosom. In the educated and civilized this love of liberty is a regulated but paramount desire; in the ignorant and debased it is a wild, vehement instinct. It is an indestructible part of the nature of man; weakened it may be, but it cannot be destroyed. It is a thread of asbestos in the web of the soul which all the fires of oppression cannot consume.

With the creation of every human being God creates this love of liberty anew. The slave shares it with his master, and

it has descended into his bosom from the same high source. Whether dormant or wakeful, it only awaits an opportunity to become the mastering impulse of the soul. Civil war is that opportunity. Under oppression it bides its time. Civil war is the fulness of time. It is literal truth that the South fosters within its homes three millions of latent rebellions.

Imbedded in a material spontaneously combustible it laughs at fire. Has it any barriers to keep the spirit of liberty which has electrified the old world from crossing its own borders and quickening its bondsmen into mutinous life?—not all of them; but one in ten thousand, one in a hundred thousand of them. If there is no Sparticus among them, with his lofty heroism and his masterly skill for attack and defence, is the race of Nat Turners extinct, who, in their religious musings, and their dumb melancholy, take the impulses of their own passions for the inspiration of God and, after prayer and the Eucharist, proceed to massacre and conflagration?

In ignorant and imbruted minds a thousand motives work which we cannot divine. A thousand excitements madden them which we cannot control. It may be a text of Scripture, it may be the contents of a wine-vault; but the result will be the same—havoc wherever there is wealth, murder wherever there is life, violation wherever there is chastity. Let but this wildfire of a servile insurrection break out in but one place in a State; nay, in but ten places, or five places, in all the fifteen States; and then, in all their length and breadth there will be no more quiet sleep. Not Macbeth, but the Angel of Retribution, will "murder sleep." The mother will clasp her infant to her breast, and, while she clasps it, die a double death. But where will the slaves find arms? "*Furor arma ministrat.*" Rage will supply their weapons.

Read the history of those slaves who have escaped from

bondage; mark their endurance and their contrivance, and let incredulity cease forever. They have hid themselves under coverts, dug holes and burrowed in the earth for concealment, sunk themselves in ponds and sustained life by breathing through a reed until their pursuers had passed by; crushed themselves into boxes but of half a coffin's dimensions, to be nailed up and transported hundreds of miles as merchandise, and in this horrible condition have endured hunger and thirst and standing upon the head without a groan or a sigh; have wandered abroad, almost fasting for forty days and forty nights, like Christ in the wilderness; and will men who devise such things and endure such things be balked in their purposes of hope and of revenge when the angel of destruction, in the form of the angel of liberty, descends into their breasts?

The state of slavery is always a state of war. In its deepest tranquillity it is but a truce. Active hostilities are liable at any hour to be resumed. Civil war between the North and the South,—anything that brings the quickening idea of freedom home to the mind of the slave, that supplies him with facilities of escape or immunities for revenge,—will unleash the bloodhounds of insurrection. Can you muster armies in secret, and march them in secret, so that the slave shall not know that they are mustered and marched to perpetuate his bondage and to extend the bondage of his race? Was not Major Dade's whole command supposed to be massacred through the treachery of a slave?

A foray within your borders places you in such a relation to the slave that you are helpless without him and in danger of assassination with him. He that defends slavery by war, wars against the eternal laws of God and rushes upon the thick bosses of Jehovah's buckler.

Such are some of the " hazards " which the leaders of pub-

lic opinion at the South, the legislators and guides of men in this dark and perilous hour, are invoking upon themselves and their fellows; not for the interests of the whole, but for the fancied interests of the slaveholders alone, and against the real interests of a vast majority of the people. May God give that wisdom to the followers which he seems not yet to have imparted to the leaders.

Sir, in these remarks I have studiously abstained from everything that seemed to me like retaliation or unkindness. I certainly have suffered no purposed word of recrimination to pass my lips. If I have uttered severe truths I have not sought for severe language in which to clothe them. What I have said, I have said as to a brother sleeping on the brink of a precipice, where one motion of his troubled sleeping or of his bewildered awaking might plunge him into remediless ruin.

In conclusion, I have only to add that such is my solemn and abiding conviction of the character of slavery; that, under a full sense of my responsibility to my country and my God, I deliberately say, better disunion,—better a civil or a servile war,—better anything that God in his providence shall send, that an extension of the bounds of slavery.

THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST 17, 1852

MR. CHAIRMAN,—On former occasions I have expressed myself so much at length on the relations which the free States are made to bear to slavery that I did not propose at this session to present any further views upon that subject. But the ban which the late Balti-

more conventions have haughtily proclaimed against free discussion; the recent, though as I believe it will be found, the temporary silencing of my friend Mr. Sumner at the other end of this capitol, who has long desired to speak, and the still later choking down of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Cleveland] on this floor have induced me to reconsider and to change my determination. I am willing to be reasoned with and always grateful when, for good cause, I am convinced; but when an attempt is made to take from me all option in regard to my exercise of a clear right I find a sufficient motive for exercising that right in the mere act of disobedience.

I must begin by taking a brief retrospect. The war against Mexico was waged to rob that sister republic of her free territory for the sake of widening the domain and confirming the despotism of slavery. On the subject of the robbery the country was divided into Whigs and Democrats. On the wicked uses to which the territory robbed was to be put it was divided into North and South.

Fourteen out of the fifteen northern States passed resolutions, most of them unanimously, or nearly so, in favor of excluding slavery by positive law from whatever territory we might acquire. The South did not then ask for any legislative permission to extend slavery there. But in pursuance of the doctrine of the great Ordinance of 1787 the North demanded legislative exclusion. Everybody at once foresaw that this question would be involved in the then next presidential election.

It was remarkable, and certainly the historian will remember it, that no leading man of the South came out in favor of the Northern doctrine; for the principles of universal liberty are so congenial to the human heart that it is difficult to conceive of five or six millions of people, in any age or country

of the world, without a single man among them ready to assume the championship of freedom.

It is still more remarkable that any Northern man should have ventured to espouse the cause of slavery. One, however, was found capable of doing it. It was strange that he should have been of New England lineage. It was thrice strange that a man educated, enriched, honored by a people who had themselves been rescued from all the curses of slavery, and blessed with all the exuberant blessings of freedom, by the Ordinance of 1787, should have proposed to open half a continent to all the curses he and his people had escaped and to shut it from all the blessings he and they had enjoyed.

But such a man was found. General Cass thought so basely of his party at the North that he supposed he could carry them against slavery restriction. If so then their union with the pro-slavery South would make a triumphant majority; and hence the well-known Nicholson letter. But that letter recoiled upon him and in the canvass of 1848 overthrew him.

The original temptation, however, still remained and acted with increased force. The South stood firm. They were a compact body of abolitionists, though the thing they desired to abolish was human freedom. They spoke out plainly and offered their support and their votes to the Northern man, Whig or Democrat, who would most thoroughly bend or break himself to their purposes. Under the lead of General Cass many of the Democratic party were seduced, and they deserted. But until the 7th of March, 1850, no Northern Whig yielded to their enticements.

On that day, however, Mr. Webster, in the Senate of the United States, offered to abandon the Ordinance of 1787—then known as the "Wilmot Proviso,"—he offered to give an additional slave State to Texas beyond what she could claim under

the unconstitutional resolutions of annexation; he offered to support "to the fullest extent" that most atrocious fugitive slave bill, then before the Senate, by which all custom-house officers and the seventeen thousand postmasters of the United States were to be made judges and to be invested with power over human liberty, and to have, each one of them, not local but unlimited jurisdiction throughout the United States; and he offered to give $200,000,000 to fortify and perpetuate the institution of slavery by removing from the southern States the dreaded element of the free colored population.

Two hundred millions of dollars—a profusion and a prodigality magnificently Websterian! I am here only referring to facts which, as everybody knows, have become history.

Here, then, we see that two conspicuous leaders of the Northern Democrats and Whigs planted themselves upon Southern ground. When the race for the Presidency consisted in adhesion to the slave power alone it was not to be expected that the competitors would be few. Mr. Buchanan forthwith caused it to be understood that on his part he was willing to run the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes—the Missouri Compromise line, so called—through to the Pacific Ocean, and surrender to slavery all upon its Southern side.

Mr. Dallas, late Vice-President under Mr. Polk, in his letter to Mr. Bryan of Texas, went further, and proposed to incorporate the compromise measures and the fugitive slave law itself into the constitution, so as to put their repeal beyond the power of a Northern majority. Senator Douglas followed. He sugared his pill. He told the South that we have cotton lands, and rice lands, and tobacco lands enough; but alas, said he, we want more lands for sugar; by which the South perfectly understood that if they would make him President the annexation of Cuba should be their reward. This is the same

gentleman who has lately said in a secret session of the Senate that if the Sandwich Islands should be annexed to this country, and a question should arise about excluding slavery from them by law, he would vote against it.

During all this time affairs were ripening for the Baltimore nominations. Mr. Fillmore offered to the South army and navy to catch a poor fugitive, where only a constable's posse was needed. Mr. Webster trumped up false treasons by scores against Northern anti-slavery men. The President traveled North and South, making speeches redolent of pro-slavery. The Secretary travelled still more, "milting" pro-slavery letters and speeches wherever he went. Certainly the reason why any of the above-named parties did not get a nomination at Baltimore was not because of what the law calls laches or "want of reasonable diligence" on their part.

I come now to the Baltimore conventions themselves, which were held in June last. Every one knows that the great question of human slavery had a controlling influence in those bodies and determined their results. With a vast majority of their members pro-slavery or anti-slavery was the one overmastering motive and end. In the Democratic convention the pro-slavery sentiment was nearly unanimous. Its members had been sold into that perdition by the lust of money or the ambition for office.

Yet even they were held in check by the apprehended thunders of the voice of the people behind them. If they did not recoil from the crime they feared its punishment. In the Whig convention the men who were ready to sacrifice honor, duty, religion, to the demands of slavery were a large majority and might have nominated their most ultra pro-slavery candidate on the first ballot.

They could have effected this just as easily as they effected

their pro-slavery organization and appointed a committee on credentials who excluded anti-slavery men, and a committee on resolutions who accepted a Southern platform prepared for them beforehand by Southern hands. But these Belshazzars, too, like him of old, saw the handwriting upon the wall, for they knew that, with such a candidate, they were doomed to utter and remorseless defeat before the people.

In both conventions, however, the spirit of slavery was so strong and so badly brave as to carry the resolutions I am about to read. The Democratic convention resolved to—

—"abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the last Congress—the act for reclaiming fugitive slaves from service or labor included."

And further they—

"Resolved, that the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

And the Whig convention—

"Resolved, that the series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress, commonly known as the compromise or adjustment (the act for the recovery of fugitives from labor included), are received and acquiesced in by the Whigs of the United States, as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the subjects to which they relate." . . . "And we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however made."

Now, what an outrage is this! Does not our constitution provide against "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press?" Why secure this freedom in the organic law if the tyranny of a social law can abolish it? Of what value is that

provision in the constitution which secures the free exercise of religion if social intolerance and bigotry, acting in an unlegalized way, can destroy it?

Yet here are two conventions utterly unknown to any of our constitutions, whether state or national, invested with no powers, legislative, judicial or executive, coming together for a day and then scattered and sunk in individual obscurity; yet lifting up their pigmy voices against the mightiest impulses of the human heart, against history and Providence, against the fiat and the Spirit of God himself; resolving that mankind shall be dumb in regard to the greatest of human wrongs; and resolving, also, that a law passed by a republican government, yet as barbarous and tyrannical as was ever made by any despotism, shall be consecrated in its wickedness and remain eternal.

Two Baltimore conventions, assuming to quench the eternal spirit of liberty—that spirit which was a part of the inspiration of the prophets of old, when they commanded the tyrants of the earth to "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free;" that spirit which gave all its heroism and splendor to the classic land of Greece, and made its memories immortal; that spirit which gave to Rome its colossal proportions of physical and intellectual grandeur; that spirit which, in the darkest night of the world's history, climbed Alpine heights and sheltered itself in the fastnesses of Alpine mountains, inaccessible to tyrants, which, at another time, found protection within the dykes of Holland, barring out the rage of the ocean and the more remorseless rage of despotic men; that spirit which has given to England and to English history all their undisputed claims to renown, and to the gratitude of mankind, and which, when persecuted and driven from England, crossed the Atlantic, spread itself over this open continent, and having been

nursed by more than two hundred years of struggle and discipline, now bids defiance to the world—this God-like spirit of liberty, immortal, invulnerable and indestructible, two ephemeral Baltimore conventions undertake to ban!

Xerxes chaining the Hellespont was wisdom personified compared with them; ay, it would be too dignified and honorable an illustration to compare them to two old male Mrs. Partingtons mopping out the Atlantic!

Why did not these insane men propose to do something which is at least conceivable? Why did they not propose to turn back the order of physical events, rather than to violate the more infrangible and irresistible laws of moral progress? Why did they not order the oak back into the acorn, or the bird back into its shell, or the earth itself back into its first geological epoch, rather than to order the enfranchised spirit of the nineteenth century back into the gloom and bondage of the dark ages of the world? Why did they not lift up the wand of their arrogance and audacity toward Arcturus and the Pleiades and attempt to move round the constellations of the heavens as you would move round the hands on the dial plate of a clock?

Such hallucinations would be at least within the limits of human conception, and would therefore be free from the folly and atheism of attempting to stifle the voice of freemen discussing freedom.

Sir, to resolve that the slavery question shall be discussed nevermore is to resolve the memories of all the heroes and martyrs and saints whose names make all the bright pages of human history into eternal oblivion. It is to resolve the history of the American Revolution and of all its actors into forgetfulness. It is to resolve the noblest faculties and aspirations of the human soul into non-existence. Under any fair

and legitimate construction of such a resolve it embraces the whole meaning and force of that infamously celebrated decree of the French convention that "there is no God."

I do not say this by way of rhetorical embellishment or to impart greater emphasis to a period. I say it because it is literally and strictly true; for the just and benevolent God who sits upon the throne of the universe must himself be silenced before the cry against the cruelty and injustice of slavery can be quelled.

Let us see for a moment what is the nature of the burden these Baltimore conventions have taken upon themselves. By forbidding us to speak upon a given subject they compel us to examine that subject and see if duty does not require us to speak upon it. They leave us no option; and if the discussion shall prove unpalatable they may thank themselves for provoking it. Let me inquire, then, whether it be not demonstrable that the relation of slavery between man and man comprehends, perpetuates, multiplies and aggravates all forms of crime which it is possible for a human being to commit.

Is the stealing, even of a shilling, a crime? Slavery steals all that man can call his own; and is not the whole greater than a part? Is robbery, which is defined to be the taking of any part of a man's goods "from his person, or in his presence, against his will, by violence, or putting him in fear," a crime? Slavery answers the exact definition of the law books, for it is by violence and by putting in bodily fear that a master ravishes from his slave all his earnings and all his ability to earn, from birth till death. And again, I say, is not the whole greater than a part? Is the destruction of any man's house by fire a crime? How much greater the crime of preventing millions of men from having a house they can call their own?

Is concubinage a crime? In this Union all the adult portion

of more than three millions of people are now forced to live in a state of concubinage. Is it a crime to abandon innocent females to the lusts of guilty men without the slightest protection of law? In this country a million and a half of females constantly are so abandoned; and the rearing of dark-skinned beauties for the harems of republican sultans is a systematized and legalized business.

Is it a crime to break asunder all the ties of human affection, to tear children from the arms of their parents and parents from each other? There is no conjugal or parental or filial affection among more than three millions of people in this land which is sacred from such violation.

Is it a crime to let murder and all other offences go unpunished? There is no form of crime which a white man may not commit against a slave with entire impunity, if he will take the precaution to let none but slaves witness it.

The darkening of the intellect, the shrouding of a soul in the gloom of ignorance, the forbidding of a spirit which God made in his own image to commune with its Maker, is more than a common crime; it is sacrilege; it is the sacrilege of sacrileges. It is a crime which no other nation on this earth, civilized, heathen, or barbarian, ever committed to the extent that it is committed here.

And yet this locking of the temple of knowledge against a whole race, this drawing of an impenetrable veil between the soul of man and his Maker, this rebellion against all that God has done to reveal himself to his offspring through the works of nature and the revelations of his providence, is enacted into laws, guarded by terrible penalties and administered by men who call themselves Christians as though Jesus Christ could have subscribed or executed such laws.

It is a crime unspeakable to deprive men of the Gospel and

of freedom to interpret it; but the slave code does this by withholding letters from the slave, and thus postpones the true enfranchisement and salvation of his soul to another life, when he can no longer be of any use to his earthly master.

Would it be a crime to practise some demoniac art, by which the growth of body and limbs should be arrested in childhood, and the victims should be left with only infantile powers to contend with cold, nakedness, hunger, and all the hosts of pain? Then it is an infinitely greater crime to inflict weakness and ignorance upon those glorious faculties of the mind by which alone its possessor can solve the mighty problems of future destiny, of eternity, and of the soul's weal or woe.

I repeat, then, that the worst forms of all the crimes which a human being can commit—theft, robbery, murder, adultery, incest, sacrilege, and whatever else there is that inflicts wide-wasting ruin upon society, and brings the souls of men to perdition—the word "slavery" is the synonym of them all.

Analyze slavery and you will find its ingredients to consist of every crime. Define any crime and you will find it to be incorporated in slavery and aggravated by it.

As the complex and infinite meaning of the word God cannot be adequately understood until you analyze it and divide and subdivide it, and give to it the thousand names of omnipotence and omniscience and omnipresence, of infinite justice and holiness and benevolence, of all sanctities and verities and benignities, of all energies and beauties, of all wisdom and all law; so when you penetrate and lay open the infinite meaning of the word slavery, it resolves itself into all crimes and all cruelties, all debasements and all horrors.

The telescope of the astronomer resolves the star-dust of the

universe into refulgent systems that glorify their Maker; the telescope of the moralist resolves the Tartarean cloud of slavery into all the impieties and wickednesses that deform humanity.

Now, between these two great antagonisms, between God and the Right on one side, and Slavery and the Wrong on the other, these two Baltimore conventions have chosen the latter. They have said to Evil, be thou my Good. They have voted to annul God's laws. They have resolved that discussions on the great question of human freedom, which involves the whole question of free agency and human accountability and the entire plan and order of the Divine government, shall be silenced.

So much for the intrinsic nature of slavery, which the Baltimore conventions have wedded as their bride.

Now let us look at some of the collateral wrongs, the self-stultification and atheism, for which slavery in this country is responsible, and which those conventions, therefore, have sanctioned and ratified and declare their purpose to continue.

When a nation is born into the world, possessing the attributes and prerogatives of nationality, it is the moral duty of existing nations to welcome it into the brotherhood of the human family. Such recognition of a new sovereignty tends to increase commerce, to forefend war, and to diffuse the blessings of knowledge, science, and the arts. It becomes, therefore, a duty.

Yet, what is the posture in which this government stands to Liberia and Hayti? Great Britain, with France, Prussia, and other continental nations, has acknowledged their existence. We refuse, and stand aloof. And this for no other reason than to gratify a colorphobia which dreads equity as the hydrophobia does water.

Writers on national law call nations a moral entity. We find color in a moral entity, and repudiate its claims. Contrast the alacrity of this government in recognizing slaveholding Texas with its utter refusal, for a quarter of a century in one case, and for half a century in the other, to recognize the free-soil governments of Liberia and Hayti.

This is one of the collateral wrongs growing out of the repugnance of slavery to do justice to the colored man anywhere; and the taint of this moral disease at the South spreads its infection over the North.

Mark a great sign and proof of depravation in the public intellect, originating in the same prolific source of wrong. The blasphemous argument has been put forth that God foreordained and instituted African slavery amongst us for the ultimate and consequential purpose of carrying civilization and Christianity into Africa.

Not only have the logic of the politician and the ethics of the moralist been corrupted into this falsity, but even the divine, with the preservative power of the gospel of Jesus Christ in his hands, has endeavored to reconcile our people to the crimes and the curses of slavery by this impious argument. They maintain that God has looked with complacency upon all the atrocities of the African slave trade; that the groans and agonies of the Middle Passage have ascended as a sweet-smelling savor before his throne; that he has seen with approval, within the last three centuries, forty millions of native Africans,—yes, sir, forty millions, for that is the estimated number,—almost double the entire population of this country, and more than one third more than the present population of Great Britain and Ireland put together,—of native Africans, torn from their homes and driven through gates of fire and realms of torture to bondage and to death; that, during all this

period, he has looked with delight upon the most frightful forms of war, the pillage and conflagration of cities, and wholesale murder, and man-stealing worse than murder, not only raging along the eastern and western shores of that devoted continent, but at times extending their ravages and havoc twelve or thirteen hundred miles inland; and that his benign providence is still fulfilled by the successful prosecution of the slave trade, though for every thousand human victims in Africa it is estimated that only three hundred finally reach their earth-born hell of Cuban or Brazilian sugar or cotton fields.

That God sent out slaves from Africa to America, at this inconceivable cost of crime on the one hand, and of suffering on the other; that his providence has raised up hosts of fiends in the shape of men, century after century, for the roundabout purpose of carrying Christianity and civilization into Africa, in some remote age, we know not when; this is the blasphemous doctrine we are made to hear from the political rostrum, the lecture-room, and, incredible to relate, from the pulpit itself!

Now, I say, sir, that to impute any such cruel-hearted and simpleton-minded scheme to our all-wise and benignant Father in Heaven is wild and wanton impiety and blasphemy. No parallel can be found in heathen mythology where such short-sighted folly and crime have been charged upon any of the bloody gods of all their pantheons. The very hypothesis is founded on an inversion of history, and it presupposes for its conception a perversion of the human intellect.

The system of enslaving Africans was commenced in ancient times by the Egyptians and the Arabs, and carried on in later periods by the Moors. Was that for the sake of carrying Christianity into Africa? In modern times the same system,

with unspeakable aggravations, has been prosecuted by all the commercial nations of Europe and of this continent.

From time immemorial, therefore, Africa has been made the hunting ground of the man-stealer. For thirty or forty centuries malice and mammon have wreaked their vengeance upon that devoted land. All crimes and calamities, conflagration, pestilence, brutality, and havoc, have been poured over it in crimson floods.

To confine our view within the last three centuries alone, who can adequately conceive the effect of robbing a continent of forty millions of people in so brief a period, with all the wars, devastations, cruelties, and treacheries which stand out as the terrific incidents of such a stupendous crime? Nor has this storm of wrath expended itself upon the coasts alone.

As I said before, these man-hunting forays and ravages have swept inland for twelve or thirteen hundred miles,—further than from the Atlantic to the Mississippi,—as far as from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes. Such has been the diffusive character of this continent-o'erwhelming crime.

And it is in this that we find the cause of Africa's degradation,—not the hopes of her redemption. The white man has created the very barbarism which he now impiously uses before Heaven as an excuse for the crime of creating it. Foreign intercourse engrafted the full-developed vices and crimes of civilization upon that barbarian stock. The sins of the white races created the very necessity for that civilization, which, as they now profanely contend, the further sin of slavery is to supply. The cause of African barbarism was slavery; and, according to the argument, the remedy is slavery. The white man clutches the profits, while he throws off the wickedness upon God. But what kind of a God does he give to the

black man, who suffers equally both from disease and remedy?

[After a protracted interruption on the part of various Southern members, Mr. Mann continued:]

I had spoken of the cause of Africa's demoralization and barbarism. I had spoken of the type of civilization which it is proposed to offer her as an example, and I had shown how impious was the argument which would attribute to the all-good and the all-powerful such a tardy, cruel, circuitous method of effecting her regeneration, and which, after waiting through slow centuries of agony and crime, would send her such a civilization by such messengers! I have only to add that before I would accept any such theology as this, I would seek my creed among the old mythologies of the heathen. In this hideous doctrine which slavery has now forced upon that public intellect which it had before depraved there is material sufficient for eight "anti" "Bridgewater Treatises," all disproving the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God.

Another obvious consequence of the existence of slavery in this country has been the criminal remissness of the government in suppressing the slave trade on the coast of Africa. We have refused to enter into treaties with European governments to secure so desirable an end; and authentic documents, developing the horrors of this traffic and proving American-built merchant-ships to be engaged in it, have laid on the files of the state department for years, and through whole presidential terms, unnoticed. On such an appalling crime as this, whose suppression has been within our reach, the national conscience has been benumbed into torpidity and paralysis by the existence of slavery amongst us.

Look at another instance in which slavery has depraved the popular sentiment of the country. Under the generous and chivalric lead of Mr. Clay, with what enthusiasm did we hail the birth of the South American republics! What hosannas did we shout forth for the emancipation of Greece! How deep the sigh of the nation's heart when Poland struggled in her death-agony and breathed her last!

Even so late as 1848 this Congress sent resolutions congratulating France on her Magna Charta of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." In one of the European revolutions of that year, on the banks of the Danube, a young man sprang, at a single bound, from comparative obscurity to universal fame. His heroism organized armies. His genius created resources. He abolished the factitious order of nobility, but his exalted soul poured the celestial ichor of the gods through ten millions of peasant hearts and made them truly noble. Though weak in all but the energies of the soul, yet it took two mighty empires to break down his power. When he sought refuge in Turkey, the sympathies of the civilized world attended his exile.

He was invited to our shores. He came, and spoke as man never before spake. It was Byron's wish that he could condense all the raging elements of his soul—

> —"into one word,
> And that one word were lightning."

Kossuth found what Byron in vain prayed for; for all his words were lightning—not bolts, but a lambent flame, which he poured into men's hearts; not to kill, but to animate with a more exalted and a diviner life.

In cities where the vast population went forth to hail him; in academic halls, where the cultivation of eloquence and knowledge is made the business of life; in those great gather-

ing places, where the rivers of people have their confluence; he was addressed by the most eloquent men whom this nation of orators could select.

More than five hundred of our selectest speakers spoke speeches before him, which they had laboriously prepared from history and embellished from the poets, with severe toil, by the long-trimmed lamp. Save in two or three peculiar cases his unprepared and improvised replies, in eloquence, in pathos, in dignity, in exalted sentiment, excelled them all. For their most profound philosophy he gave them deeper generalizations; he out-circuited their widest ranges of thought, and in the whole sweep of the horizon revealed glories they had never seen; and while they checked their ambitious flight beneath the sun, he soared into the empyrean and brought down, for the guidance of men's hearts and deeds, the holy light that shines from the face of God. Though all their splendors were gathered to a focal point, they were outshone by his effulgence.

His immortal theme was Liberty—liberty for the nations, liberty for the people. Once that word was enough to electrify men's hearts, ay, to make the stones in the streets cry out for joy. But, by the compromises of 1850, and this infernal slave law, and the efforts of political leaders and parties to sustain them, the people had been demoralized; their sentiments had been debauched.

To thousands and hundreds of thousands the cry of the
4 Rights of Man had become an odious cry. To hail liberty in the East, while we were propagating slavery in the West; to receive with honors a fugitive from Austrian bondage, while our hands were thrusting back fugitives into a tenfold direr bondage at the South, were contradictions so palpable and flagrant that even partisan blindness could not but see them.

Kossuth owed labor and service to Francis Joseph of Austria just as much as Thomas Sims owed it to John Potter of Georgia. Why should the one be cheered and the other chained? Why should the "Mississippi" bring Kossuth here for freedom and the "Acorn" carry Sims back to bondage? Kossuth had committed treason ten thousand times over against the House of Hapsburg. Why should he be sheltered in our arms from the penalties of treason while the government here sets all the foul ministers of the law to make constructive treasons for the punishment of innocent men?

Kossuth had rebelled against Austria and had caused the death of tens of thousands of her subjects. Why should he be screened behind a rampart of American hearts while those who killed Gorsuch, under the law of self-preservation, and in defence of life, liberty, and home, should be ignominiously hung on the gallows?

These were questions that no deafness could avoid hearing, and when heard, no sophistry could answer. Freedom is one; slavery is its antipode; and therefore the protection of the fugitive Kossuth and the surrender of the fugitive slave could never be reconciled.

Hence it was that in public assemblies, among public men, throughout the newspaper press, wherever the spirit of slavery predominated, there Kossuth was denounced.

I say among public men. Accuracy directs me to add that among our public men there were a few honorable exceptions, of which Mr. Webster was one. But, as to the newspapers, if you saw one to-day, filled with the veriest servility toward the slave power, you might be sure that it would revile and defame Kossuth to-morrow. Or, if you saw one column reeking with abuse of Kossuth, you would be sure to find a pro-slavery pæan in the next. Even at the door of this House,

after Kossuth had been invited to the capitol, he was stopped and insulted. Some of the more simple ones avowed their reasons. They said, if we sympathize with the oppressed in the person of a Hungarian now, we may next be called upon to sympathize with the oppressed in the persons of three millions of Africans. Compare the triumphal progress of Kossuth through the free States, such as no Roman consul, returning from foreign conquests and laden with spoils, ever knew, with the feeble and grudged and stinted honors paid him in the land of bondage. Slavery made the contrast. Almost without exception the Northern opponents of Kossuth were sympathizers with Southern slavery, and therefore with Francis Joseph and Nicholas.

The person of this truly noble Hungarian has departed from our shores; but he has left a spirit behind him that will never die. He has scattered seeds of liberty and truth, whose flowers and fruit will become honors and glories amaranthine. I trust he goes to mingle in sterner scenes; I trust he goes to battle for the right, not with the tongue and pen alone, but with all the weapons that freedom can forge and wield. Before the Divine government I bow in reverence and adoration; but it tasks all my philosophy and all my religion to believe that the despots of Europe have not exercised their irresponsible and cruel tyrannies too long. It seems too long since Charles was brought to the axe and Louis to the guillotine.

Liberty, humanity, justice, demand more modern instances. The time has fully come when the despot, not the patriot, should feel the executioner's steel or lead. The time has fully come when, if the oppressed demand their inalienable and heaven-born rights of their oppressors, and this demand is denied, they should say, not exactly in the language of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death;" that was noble

language in its day, but we have now reached an advanced stage in human development, and the time has fully come when the oppressed, if their rights are forcibly denied them, should say to the oppressor: "Give me liberty, or I will give you death!"

I have said that one of the collateral consequences of slavery in this country has been to deprave, corrupt, and debauch public sentiment. When before, in the history of the world, has it ever happened that the leading men of a republic, and the leading organs of public sentiment supported by their wealth, have become abettors and champions of slavery? Yet such is the morally hideous spectacle our country now exhibits.

When before, in the history of the world, have the most influential minds in the community labored and striven to blot out, theoretically and practically, the ineffaceable distinction between a man and a brute, between a human soul and an inanimate chattel, to plant and enroot in our civil polity a vast, expanding system in which conscience, reason, the capacities of religion, and the inborn convictions of accountability and immortality are made subservient and secondary to bones and muscles, and put upon auction blocks as incidents to the body that perisheth?

When before, in all our history, have men of eloquence and power ever traversed the country, and scattered letters and speeches, like the flakes of a snow-storm, to subdue and harmonize the public mind to such stupendous wrongs?

When before, since the "Mayflower" crossed the ocean with her precious burden, has any one minister of the Puritan stock ever dared or ever desired to put on priestly robes and enter the house of God to defend slavery or to palliate it?

Sir, such things were never known before. It is a new

spectacle for men and angels. It must give a new joy in the world of darkness.

Another collateral effect which slavery has produced, is the promulgation from the halls of Congress, and also from—what in such cases, is not the sacred, but the profane desk—that there is no "higher law" than the constitution, or than any interpretation which any corrupt Congress may put upon it. Such a doctrine is nothing less than palpable and flagrant atheism.

If I am bound to obey any human law or constitution as my paramount rule of duty, thenceforth that rule becomes my supreme arbiter, judge, and god; and I am compelled, by logical necessity, to abjure, renounce, and depose all others. There cannot be two supreme rules of right. If I acknowledge myself bound by the divine law, and that comes in conflict with the human law, then I must disobey the latter.

But if the human law be the higher law, and if it conflicts with God's law, then I am bound to disobey the law of God. If the constitution be the "higher law," then we, on taking our seats in this House, and all magistrates and legislators, when entering upon the duties of their respective offices, ought not to take an oath before God to support the constitution, but ought to swear by the constitution to support that first, and God afterward, provided it is convenient.

I say, then, that this doctrine—which is one of the offshoots of slavery—that there is no higher law than the law of the State, is palpable and practical atheism. And yet it is perfectly well known to all who hear me, and to all who frequent the purlieus of Congress, that there is no butt of ridicule so common here, nothing which so readily and so frequently raises the "loud laugh that speaks the vacant mind," as a fling or jeer at the "higher law."

Sir, it is of fearful omen when the laws of men are made, even in theory, to take precedence of and override the laws of God. And the last aggravation is added to this iniquity when the politician disguises himself beneath the garb of a priest and cloaks his wickedness under the show of religion.

No person feels a profounder reverence, or would pay a sincerer homage to a godly, sin-avoiding, sin-exposing priesthood than myself. But I have no adequate words to express my abhorrence for the clerical hypocrite, with whom religion is neither a sanctification of the soul nor a purification of the body, but only a kind of policy of insurance against the retribution in another world for sins committed in this, accompanied all the while by knavish tricks on the part of the insured to cheat the divine insurer out of his premium.

[Here Mr. Mann was interrupted by Mr. Sutherland, who charged him with getting up an issue upon an immaterial question of morality, which simply tends to excite men without any practical benefit. Mr. Mann continued:]

I hope the gentleman will not interrupt me further. His argument would have answered just as well in the time of Herod, the Tetrarch, when he issued the order for the murder of all the children under two years of age. The murderers doubtless got ten-dollar commission fees for the deed. So those who massacred thirty-six thousand Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day at the ringing of a signal-bell went by the "higher law" of the pope, or of his vicegerent, the king; and had not they their "Union" to save by it? And our Pilgrim Fathers were driven into exile by the "higher law" of a hierarchical Parliament. And so if you admit this doctrine, there is no enormity, actual or conceivable, which may not be perpetrated and justified under it?

The gentleman says I am discussing "immaterial abstractions," and raising issues that have no practical bearing. Is the fugitive slave law an "immaterial abstraction?"—a law which violates both the divine law and the constitution of the country. Ask the free man, Gibson, who was sent into bondage under it when as much entitled to his liberty as you or I, whether that law has not some bearing on a practical question. Are not the Baltimore edicts before the country? And have they no practical bearing, when their very purpose is to suppress free speech; and when that purpose has been executed again and again?—and the attempt has been made here, within the last half hour, upon me, to enforce it?

Now, sir, I do not believe in preaching against theoretical and distant sins, and letting real and present ones escape. I do not believe in denouncing Hindoo suttees, because they are on the other side of the globe, and defending the extension of slavery in our own land. That sin has the beguiling defence of office and profits not less than ours. But that sin destroys only the body; ours the soul.

The modern clergymen of the "lower law" school can select some monster of the Old Testament—Darius, Nebuchadnezzar, or Jeroboam—and hold them up for execration, while they suffer the greater moral monsters of their own parishes to escape with impunity. They have no mercy for Jeroboam, old hunker though he was, because he "drove Israel from following the Lord,"—more especially as there was no chance for the presidency, nor any tariff nor sale of dry goods to the South to tempt him. But they forget that each and all of the worst sinners whose names blacken the page of history had their accompanying temptations and their casuistry for self-defence just as much as the offenders of our day.

They forget that when posterity looks backward upon great crimes, as they stand out in historic relief, they are seen in their foul nakedness and deformity, and without any of the palliations or pretexts by which their wickedness was softened to the tempted eye of the perpetrator. They forget that it will be as true of the crimes of our day as of ancient ones, when the evanescent circumstances of the seduction have passed by—that then they too will stand out in the foreground of the historic canvas in their full proportions and in their native deformity, hideous, unmitigated, and execrable.

Had not Ananias and Sapphira a temptation every whit as strong to keep back from the apostles a part of the price of their possessions as though they had been offered a sinecure chaplaincy in the navy for defending the fugitive slave law?

We have historic proof that Benedict Arnold attempted to justify his treason on the ground that he was seeking the best good of the colonies, just as his followers in our times seek to justify themselves by the far less plausible plea of saving the Union.

I know it is said that if the doctrine of the "higher law" is admitted all laws will be set at naught, and civil government be overthrown. All history refutes this; for, of all the men who have ever lived, those who contend for the higher law of God have universally been the most faithful and obedient when human laws were coincident with the divine. That identical principle in our nature which makes us true to the will of God makes us also true to all the just commands of men. . . .

And now, having shown what a mighty wrong slavery is, in and of itself; having shown what collateral debasement,

cruelty, and practical atheism it generates and diffuses, let me ask if the political Free-Soil party do not go to the uttermost verge that patriot, moralist, or Christian can go when it consents to let slavery remain where it is? There is an endeavor to make up a false issue for the country and for the tribunal of history on this subject. Free-soilers are charged with interfering with slavery within the jurisdiction of the States where it is.

This allegation is wholly unfounded. Our whole effort has been simply to keep it within the jurisdiction of the States where it is. We would not have it profane free territory. We would not allow it to double its present domain; we would not see it blast with nameless and innumerable woes two thirds of our territorial area on the Pacific coast, as it already has two thirds on the Atlantic. This is all we have done.

And to the argument that, with only about three slaves to a square mile over all your territory, you, gentlemen of the slave States, must have more space, because you are becoming suffocated by so close crowding, we simply reply that we cannot admit that argument, because it devotes the whole world to inevitable slavery. For, if you already need a greater expanse of territory for comfortable room, that, too, will soon be crowded with three slaves to a square mile, and the argument for further conquest and expansion will come back upon us. Yielding again, the argument will speedily recur again. It will be a never-ending, still-beginning pretext for extension, until the whole world shall become a vast realm of slavery—even the free States being engulfed with the rest, so that the dove of freedom will have no spot on the surface of the globe where she can set her foot.

And now, notwithstanding the infinite evil and wrong of slavery, intrinsic in it, and inseparable from it; notwithstand-

ing the virus with which it poisons all our free institutions—its exclusion of independent communities from the brotherhood of the Union; its hardening the nation's heart against all people struggling for liberty; its atheist-making; its attempt to transfer the whole false English code of high treason into our law, and all its debasement of the republican sentiment, and the moral sentiment of this country; notwithstanding all this, the Baltimore conventions decree that the subject of slavery shall be agitated among us no more forever.

Look at the comprehensiveness of this interdict. It embraces all subjects. It forbids the political economist from discussing the relative productiveness of free and slave labor. It forbids the educationist from demonstrating that a slave-holding people must always, from the necessity of the case, be an ignorant people—a people divided not only into castes of wealth, but into castes of intelligence.

It forbids genius from presenting truth in the glowing similitudes of fiction; and that divine-hearted woman, the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," is under the Baltimore ban.

It forbids the poet, whose lips from olden days have been touched as with live coals from off the heavenly altar, from ever again kindling the hearts of mankind with a divine enthusiasm for liberty.

It strikes out all the leading chapters from the book of the moralist. It puts its seal upon the lips of the minister of Christ when he would declare the whole counsel of God, and forbids him ever again to preach from the text, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." All—worldly prosperity, education, genius, morality, religion, truth—are struck out by these Baltimore conventions in their maniacal partisanship.

The noblest men whom God has ever sent into the world—patriots, reformers, philanthropists, apostles, and Jesus Christ himself—are on the side of freedom. Tyrants, usurpers, traitors, men-stealers, the wholesale murderers and robbers of nations, are on the side of slavery. The Baltimore conventions enlist under the banners of the latter. They affiliate with the house of Hapsburg, and with Nicholas, with the King of Naples, and with the " Prince-President " of France. One might almost suppose they had plagiarized their resolves from the Paris " Moniteur," where that ape who mimics the imperial grandeur he cannot comprehend records his tyrannical decrees against freedom of speech. Louis Napoleon decreed free discussion out of existence in France. Six hundred men at Baltimore decreed the same thing for this country. The ape succeeded; they fail.

And how are these resolves to be construed, provided new questions respecting slavery arise, or questions already started are precipitated upon us? Should an attempt to annex Cuba, in order still further to aggrandize the slave power, be made—and if General Pierce should be elected, such attempt doubtless will be made—or should a new State with a slave constitution from California apply for admission; or should Mexico be again dismembered to form new slave territory and new slave States; in the occurrence of these events, or of either of them, how are these Baltimore resolutions to be then construed?

We know perfectly well what claim will be set up. It will be said that the new events come within the terms of the prohibition—the *casus fœderis*—and bind the nation to silence. It will be claimed that the resolutions cover not only all subjects, but all time; and enslave our children as well as ourselves. . . .

And what was the fate of the senator from Illinois, whom some sagacious and over-reaching Whig called the Young Giant—a nickname which his own friends were silly enough to adopt. I say silly, for everybody knows that the common notion which the common people have of a "young giant" is that of unnatural and precocious animal development. The very name conjures up images of rowdyish passion and appetite, of nocturnal revels, of a sort of wild, obscene force, unchastened by the lessons of experience, and untempered by Nestorian wisdom. What was his reward for his implied or understood offer of the annexation of Cuba? From the four States of Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, he never at any one time received more than sixteen votes, and in four fifths of the ballotings he received but five or six. In winning the South he forgot the North.

> "Vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself
> And falls on t'other side!"

Or, as a graver poet has expressed it, these worshippers at the Southern shrine, while they renounce Northern constituencies, were

> ——"like idiots gazing in a brook,
> Who leap at stars and fasten in the mud."

I cannot stop to enumerate the victims in detail. The slain Hectors may have a monument and be remembered; but it is the felicity of the vulgar herd in an ungodly contest that they rot in a forgotten grave.

Long before the Baltimore convention met we had supposed that the Northern Democratic aspirants for the presidency had done their worst; that they had drunk the last dregs of the cup of humiliation. But Southern genius seems exhaustless in resources for Northern debasement. Some unknown political upstart in Rich-

mond, Va., obtruded himself into notice by shouting out the two words " Presidency," " Pro-slavery " to all the candidates, and instantly thirteen of them were at his feet. He put to them some " more last questions " in the catechism of infamy—" whether, if they could be elected, they would veto any bill repealing the fugitive slave law," and so forth. All answered as his questions indicated they must. Forgetful of the nature of the oath they longed to take, forgetful that it is a violation of the whole spirit of our government for the executive to interfere with Congress by telling them beforehand what acts of theirs he will not approve, they all hastened to give the desired response. He did not send them a pro-slavery creed, with a blank left for their signatures, but he compelled them to write out their own shame with their own hands. He did not send the collar and chains all ready for them to put on; but he said, forge them and rivet them on yourselves; and, submissive, they forged them and riveted them on and expressed gratitude for the favor.

And now, where are those thirteen Democratic candidates? And where, too, are those two Whig candidates who, within the last two years, have done every conceivable thing, and a thousand things before inconceivable, to propitiate the slave power? Gone, sir; all gone with those who perished at Tyburn! They rebelled against humanity and against God, and verily they have their reward. They mounted a platform where they hoped to be crowned amid the huzzas of the people, but an avenging Nemesis stood there, and in the twinkling of an eye changed it into the " drop platform " of the executioner. Sir, when a single malefactor receives at the hands of justice his well-merited doom, the moralist seizes the example to give warning to others who may be tempted in like cases to offend. He points to the ignominious body of his victim, and, as the

herald of God, he proclaims the eternal law, that crime never can compensate the criminal. He declares that, until finite man can overpower or circumvent the infinite Creator the retributions of sin shall pursue the sinner. If the preacher does this when he has but a single victim for a text, what an accumulation of energy and emphasis is given to his admonitions when there are fifteen victims before him! . . .

In regard to Mr. Webster, there are three points which I propose to elucidate—his position of special and marked hostility to slavery in 1848, what he did for the cause of slavery in 1850, and how the South requited him in 1852. His case is peculiarly impressive. Instructive warnings as all the others are, yet "the secretary stands alone." I am about to speak of his downfall in no spirit of personal exultation, though he has done me the greatest wrong. Because, when sitting on the top of his political Olympus, he hurled his shafts at me, I scorn to retaliate when he lies deserted and despairing at its base. The man does not live (unless now it be himself) who felt a more poignant grief at his ruin than was felt in this heart of mine. But it was not on the 21st of June last, and at Baltimore, that he fell; but on the 7th of March, 1850, in the Senate of the United States. It was then that he sunk his beaming forehead in the dust, never again, I fear, to be lifted up. It was then that he tore from his brow the glorious diadem of fame, and cast its clustered stars away—a diadem richer than ever blazed upon the brow of royalty, for its gems were not gathered from rock or mine, but from the more precious treasures of wisdom and eloquence. Then thousands of hearts were wrung with anguish as, cold, relentless, and blaspheming, those apostate doctrines fell from his lips. I say no bosom, save now perhaps his own, was ever more deeply saddened at the spectacle of that moral ruin than mine. As

I think of him now, ever-recurring and dirge-like do the elegiac strains written for the occasion by the great Poet of Humanity wake their mournful echoes in my breast:

"So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!

Revile him not — the Tempter hath
A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!

Oh! dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night.

Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark
A bright soul driven,
Fiend-goaded down the endless dark
From hope and Heaven!

Let not the land, once proud of him,
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame, his dim,
Dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons, instead,
From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make.

Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains —
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still strong in chains.

All else is gone: from those great eyes
The soul has fled;
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!

Then, pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walk backward, with averted gaze,
And hide his shame!"

Still I should leave this part of my subject maimed and incomplete should I forbear to draw the moral which the fate of this eminent man so impressively teaches. In the history of this world it is inexpressively sad that offences should come.

It would be still more sad if we could not use them to warn others from offending. Besides, the drama, in one of whose scenes we were brought together upon the stage and enacted a part, has now been played out, and I am now able to establish by history all the positions I then maintained by argument.

The grandeur of Mr. Webster's intellect—the first point always made in his defence—I readily admit. On this point I give his friends *carte blanche* of concession and agreement —the whole argument their own way. . . .

So certain has been the fate of Mr. Webster for the last eighteen months that I, and all those with whom I am politically associated, have foreseen it and predicted it with as much confidence as an astronomer foretells an eclipse. Let us trust that the fate of such victims will not be lost for the future upon Northern men.

Sir, out of this fugitive slave law has arisen an ill-sounding, half-barbarous word to express the wholly barbarous idea that the law is never to be repealed or modified. It is the word "finality." This word has already got into somewhat common use in regard to its objects. It is destined to get into universal use in regard to its authors. I think General Cass and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster, with many others, have by this time an interior and realizing sense of what the word "finality" means. Though too late for them to profit by it, I hope it will be blessed to the use of others.

And what palliation, what pretext, what subterfuge even, had these men for such betrayal of human rights? Nothing, literally nothing, but that fraudulent idea of "danger to the Union;" that cry of "wolf," which the South always raises when she has an object to accomplish; and which she will always continue to raise, on pretences more and more

shadowy and evanescent, the more we have the folly to heed it. The same threat is now, at this instant time, made if the North does not give them their choice in the two candidates for the presidency. . . .

Now, as slavery is error and wickedness combined, it must incur the penalties ordained of God against both. As it corrupts domestic virtue, contravenes the natural laws of a nation's prosperity and growth, excludes and drives away those who are instinct with the love of freedom from settling within its borders, makes general education impossible, and eviscerates from the Gospel of Jesus Christ the highest and purest of its principles and precepts, it follows by a law of adamantine necessity that the body politic which suffers it is vulnerable in every part, and that physical and moral death besieges every gate of its citadel. Slavery assails all the laws of God broadside; and it must, therefore, receive his retributions broadside.

These are but specimens of the weakness which is always inflicted by error, and of the fatuity that ensues from moral wrong. They are specimens of those "higher laws" of God which fulfil their destiny, whether men heed them or defy. They crush the resistant while resisting, and silence the blasphemer in mid-volley.

If the northern States of this Union, therefore, will cherish liberty, while the southern foster slavery, the predominance of the former in political power, as well as in all other things desirable, will soon be overwhelming. Foreign annexations by the latter cannot redress the balance. They but palliate the symptoms of a distemper which is organic—as the newly erected wing of a lazar-house for a time dilutes the infection, which it soon sends back to aggravate the general virulence. I appeal to the friends of liberty, then, wherever they may

be found, to stand fast in their integrity; for, to adopt the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson, in such a contest there is not an attribute of the Almighty but must take part with us.

Sir, I have endeavored now to speak upon the real and true state of the Union. I have desired to ascertain toward what point of the moral compass this great vehicle which we call government, freighted as it is with so much of human welfare and with the fondest hopes of the oppressed, is now moving. I have sought to determine that direction, not by the meteoric lights which are exhaled from human passion and selfishness, but by taking observation of the unchangeable luminaries of truth and duty, which shine down upon us forever from their fixed places in the skies. I have spoken no word in the spirit of a partisan or a politician; but have sought to embrace within my vision the horizon of the future as well as of the present.

THIERS

LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS was born at Marseilles in 1797. He was carefully educated, and, after obtaining a degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was admitted to the bar and undertook to practice his profession in Paris. Finding it impossible to gain a living by the law, he began to write for the newspapers, and meanwhile prosecuted the historical researches, the outcome of which was his "History of the Revolution." His more voluminous and better known work, the "History of the Consulate and Empire," was not published until 1845, after he had been Prime Minister. In his capacity of journalist he helped, in 1829, to bring on the revolution which made Louis Philippe King of the French. Under the July monarchy Thiers filled various posts in successive Cabinets until in 1840 he became President of the Council. After the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, he became for a while an exile, but, having been permitted to return to France, he was elected to the Corps Législatif, and during the latter years of the Second Empire was by far the most effective and conspicuous member of the Opposition in that body. By the National Assembly, which in 1871 was convoked at Bordeaux, but which subsequently moved to Versailles, he was made President of the Republic, and held the office for about two years. He died on September 3, 1877.

MEXICO AND LOUIS NAPOLEON'S POLICIES

DELIVERED IN DISCUSSING THE BUDGET IN THE FRENCH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, JUNE 2, 1865

GENTLEMEN—When I last year had the honor of addressing you for the first time on the state of our finances, I endeavored to give a retrospective view of them for the last twenty years, and to show from what causes our expenditure had risen in the last few years from about 1,500 millions to nearly 2,800 millions. To me the causes are evident enough; and had

there been any doubt, the propositions now made to us would suffice to remove it. Within the last fortnight 360 millions have been demanded for France in general, and 250 for Paris; in all, 610 millions. It is said that a law is now under consideration in the Council of State demanding 100 or 200 millions more, making 700 or 800 millions in the space of a few weeks. I need not dwell on the causes of the increase of our budgets; I will only make a concise statement concerning them. I will afterward show the financial situation which those causes have produced; in short, I will attempt to present a balance sheet of our finances. I believe you will agree with me in thinking that the causes are these—Since our new institutions have diminished the share which our nation took in managing its own affairs, it was feared that the activity of mind with which I am reproached might be dangerous, unless means should be found to occupy the attention of the country. These means, sometimes dangerous, always odious, have been wars abroad, and enormous expenditure and great speculations at home. After great wars came small ones—small, if we consider the number of men engaged, but large if we consider their distance and the serious complications they may cause. The war in Mexico has already cost us more than the Italian war, to say nothing of the complications it may entail. The war expenditure has, of course, been met by loans, and the public debt has consequently been considerably increased. Next come our great public works, an excellent employment for the country's savings in time of peace, as every sensible man will acknowledge; but we ought to proceed prudently. It is a mistake to suppose, as some do, that there need be no limit to the application of our savings to public works;

agriculture and manufactures ought to have their share, and if only a portion should be employed by the State in improving roads, canals, and other means of communication, still less should be devoted to the mere embellishment of towns. It is certainly necessary to widen the streets and improve the salubrity of cities, but there is no necessity for such vast changes as have been operated in Paris, where, as I think, all reasonable limits have been exceeded. The contagion of example is to be feared. The proverb says that he who commits one folly is wise. If Paris only were to be rebuilt, I should not have much to say against it, but you know what La Fontaine wittily says:

> "Tout bourgeois veut bâtir comme le grand seigneur,
> Tout petit prince a des ambassadeurs,
> Tout marquis veut avoir des pages."

The glory of the Prefect of the Seine has troubled the repose of all the prefects. The Prefect of the Seine has rebuilt the Tuileries, and the Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône wants to have his Tuileries also. Last year the Minister of State answered me that only a trifling expenditure was intended, not more than six millions; but it appears from the debates of the Council-General that the expense will be twelve or fourteen millions, and some persons say as much as twenty millions. I know that the Prefect of the Bouches-du-Rhône is a senator; but if it takes twelve millions to build him a residence, that is a large sum. All the other prefects will be eager to follow his example, as the Prefect of Lisle has already. The subprefects, also, will want new residences and new furniture. Where would all this lead to? The Minister of Public Works, full of glory, must have more consideration for

the cares of the Minister of Finance. But here we have a new Minister of Public Works with a new glory to make, and demands for millions multiply. The Minister of Finance defends himself as best he can, but appears to be conquered; he might resist by resigning, certainly; but that is a means borrowed from past days. A compromise is at last effected. To spare the Treasury, one hundred millions are to be obtained by selling part of the state forests. For this, however, your consent is necessary; but the matter is settled in principle, and the public domain will supply the funds which the Treasury refuses. By whom is this torrent of expenditure to be arrested? By yourselves, gentlemen; your wisdom, patriotism, and courage can alone achieve the task. Your responsibility is great, especially in financial matters; in politics, your powers may be contested to a certain extent; but in questions of finance they are undisputed. In finances, you, therefore, are responsible for everything. It is time to halt in this course of expenditure, and not to imitate those sinners who are always talking of reforming and after all die in final impenitence.

We are often told that financial science is obscure; but the assertion is untrue. Sciences are never obscure, except through the dulness of those who expound them, or the charlatanism of those who assume a false air of profundity. I will take my examples from private life. Let us suppose two fathers, one methodical, strict, and somewhat morose; the other easy and good-natured. The former will regulate his expenditure according to his income, and fix limits which he will not pass; during the year this may cause some unpleasantness to himself and his family, but when settling day comes he has neither anxiety nor embarrass-

ment. The latter takes no such precautions; he passes quietly through the year, restricting neither his own expenditure nor that of his family; but when he settles his accounts he finds that he has exceeded his income, and is obliged to encroach on his capital to pay his debts; and thus goes on from year to year with ever-increasing embarrassment till ruin stares him in the face. The stern father, meanwhile, has preserved or even increased his estate, and taught his children that which will be useful to them through life. As in private life, so it is in public affairs. Statesmen have the same passions as other men, and it is only by resisting these passions that they can save the state. I will now apply these reflections to our finances. What is the principle which governs their administration? You have five budgets, and I will show the consequences of this multiplicity. First, there is the ordinary one, which ranges from 1,370 to 1,780 millions; this year it is 1,700 millions. Then there is a special budget for the departments and communes, varying from 230 to 240 millions. Next comes the extraordinary budget, from 120 to 140 millions. But that is not all. As the budget is voted a year beforehand, all expenses have not been foreseen, and at the end of the year a rectificative budget of 100 millions is required: so that the total budget exceeds 2,200 millions. Then, when the final settlement comes, it is found that certain expenses have exceeded the credits voted, while other credits have not been employed; the latter are made set-offs against the former, but there is always a balance required of from twenty to eighty millions which has to be voted by special laws. The budget is thus raised to 2,200 millions or more; in 1863 it was 2,292 millions. Such is the figure we reach with our five budgets;

and then, like the father above mentioned, we have to strike the final balance. This is done by the Court of Accounts, and when the result is submitted to the Chamber, if there be an excess of expenditure, the floating debt is increased by so much. Last year you made a loan of 360 millions, and it will be exhausted next year. This is how the budget has risen to between 2,200 and 2,300 millions. Last year M. de Vuitry, President of the Council of State, told me that it would be a childish expedient to divide the budgets for the purpose of deceiving the Chamber as to their total amount, seeing that the general situation might be ascertained by adding together a few figures. I replied that it took me two months to make those additions, and, if I mistake not, the reporter has found three months to be necessary this year, though he had numerous documents at his disposal, which those who are not members of the committee have never seen. Your reporter, indeed, has had confidential communications from the Ministry of Finance, which inform him of things he cannot repeat to us. We have not the information we ought to have, and yet the reporter required three months to work the little sum in addition, to which the President of the Council of State alluded. It has been said: "Calumniate! Calumniate! some of your calumnies are sure to remain." We may say: "Dissimulate! Dissimulate! something is sure to remain!" We will now see whether the plan of dividing the budget is not a means of creating illusions as to the true amount of the expenditure. The honorable M. Gouin yesterday said that the budget was really 1,571 millions. When the law of accounts comes before us, that budget will be 2,300 millions. Were there any good reason for thus dividing the budget I would not object to it. Why

should there be one budget for the state and another for the departments and communes, when all the expenditure is paid from the same treasury and made under the same responsibility? Separate budgets may be reasonable enough in Austria, which contains distinct kingdoms and provinces, but there is nothing to justify them in France. Then, there is another illusion, that of the ordinary and extraordinary budgets. When thousands of millions were concerned, as in the first establishment of railways, there was some reason for an extraordinary budget; but when the expenditure is only for ameliorations which may be effected gradually, it can only tend to dissimulate real expenses. The extraordinary budget contains the expenditure for repairs, which must always be a permanent item; why should it, then, not be put in the ordinary budget? I also see in it sums of five and six millions for the Ministry of War, which ought certainly to be considered ordinary expenditure. In the extraordinary budget of the marine I see a sum of twelve and one-half millions for the arsenals, which ought certainly to be considered an ordinary item. But we are told that it was required for the transformation of our navy into ironclads. I have seen three of these transformations in the course of forty years, and therefore see no reason for calling it an extraordinary expenditure.

In the Ministry of Public Works I find five millions for improving the high roads, but all such outlay has hitherto been considered ordinary expenditure. Then comes the large sum of thirty-three millions for payments to railways as guarantee of interest, but some parts of these payments will last eighty years, other parts twenty and forty years, and therefore ought to be in the ordinary budget. The

only use of the extraordinary budget seems to be to make the ordinary budget appear less, and give it a more favorable appearance when compared with the ordinary revenue. M. Gouin says that our ordinary budget being 1,900 millions and our revenue of the same amount, there is an equilibrium. But even when viewed in that light, there is still a deficit of thirty millions. The division into ordinary and extraordinary budgets serves to put the real receipts in comparison with what are called ordinary expenses. As to the other expenses, they are met by instalments or other means. The rectificative budget also serves to diminish the apparent amount of the ordinary budget. The system of rectificative budgets is justified by alleging the impossibility of providing for all necessary expenditure a year in advance. I admit the necessity of supplementary credits; but even to justify them the expenditure to which they correspond ought to be really expenses in some degree expected. An eminent member of the Old Chamber, M. Le Pelletier d'Aulnay, was a severe critic of supplementary credits. But I repeat that the grand principle of such credits is the unforeseen. We have the rectificative budget of 1865. Well, gentlemen, read it and see if it is composed of expenses impossible to foresee. Out of eighty millions there are sixty for the occupation of Rome, for Cochin China, and for Mexico. Can it be said that last year nobody foresaw that we should have to pay all this in the present year? And, doubtless, the Minister of Finance last year never anticipated that he should have to remove the post-office to the Rue de Rivoli, for which he is now obliged to ask six millions. Was I not, therefore, right in calling the rectificative budget an extraordinary budget deferred? The expenses of this budget are met by

augmentations of receipts—sometimes, but not always, realized; by the Mexican securities, the great resource of the moment; and, lastly, by annulments. Then comes the liquidation, when fresh expenses are discovered, ordinarily discharged by annulments, but these last are found to be exhausted. That is the way in which a budget of 1,900 millions is swelled to one of 2,200 or 2,300 millions. The form in which a budget is presented is of great importance; the present system enables people to say that we are nearly in equilibrium when we are very far removed from it. Let us take as an example the last three years. The budget of 1862, voted in 1861, was composed of 1,777 millions for state expenses, and 125 millions for communal and departmental outlay—1,902 millions in all for the ordinary budget; the extraordinary was sixty-seven millions—in all 1,969 millions. In 1862 there came the rectificative budget, which added 193 millions, accounted for by the great cost of the Mexican expedition, and of the check at Puebla, so gloriously repaired.

The liquidation arrived in 1863; and it was found necessary to add from forty-nine to fifty millions, carrying the whole expenditure to 2,212 millions. The budget of 1863, voted in 1862, was composed of 1,721 millions for state expenses and 217 millions for communal and departmental, besides 121 millions for the extraordinary budget—total, 2,061 millions; and the rectificative budget and liquidation raised that amount to 2,292 millions—the highest figure we have yet known. The budget of 1864 showed 2,105 millions as ordinary, and 135 as rectificative—total, 2,240 millions, swelled by the liquidation to 2,260 or 2,270 millions. The budget for 1865 was last year voted at a figure of 2,100 millions; the rectificative budget, which we are now dis-

cussing, has added eighty-eight millions, thus raising the figure to 2,188 millions, and leading to the belief that the total will exceed 2,200 millions. The budget of 1865 will be smaller than the preceding, for the reason that the Mexican expenses have diminished. I am aware that the Minister of Finance would gladly see a deduction in our expenditure, but the Minister of Public Works is fond of renown, and it is always difficult to find the Minister who pays and the one who spends in perfect accord. In the present case they seem to have arranged matters at the expense of a third party, purely passive—I mean the sinking fund. Allow me to say a few words on that topic. When the state borrows 100 millions there is an annual expense of five millions incurred to pay the interest, and one million more is added to redeem the whole debt. At this rate such a debt could only be extinguished in one hundred years, and that would be bankruptcy.

When I was studying finance under the auspices of that great financier, Baron Louis, I came to the conclusion that to defer for a period beyond thirty years the extinction of a debt was tantamount to deferring it indefinitely. But how can a debt be extinguished in a little over thirty years? By leaving in the possession of the sinking fund the million of redeemed Rentes; the next year it can redeem 1,050,000 francs Rentes, and thus by force of compound interest the object may be attained in somewhat over thirty years. Our laws have made the extinction of the public debt by a sinking fund obligatory. The dotation for that purpose has become a sacred thing; but not so the redeemed Rentes—they can be annulled. And as the spirit of the law implies redemption when the prices are high, it is scarcely just to the holder of Rentes purchased, perhaps, at eighty-four, to re-

imburse him at sixty-seven. But what is the budget that has been made by annulling the sixty-five millions of redeemed Rentes? The advantage of the measure has not been complete; for out of that sum it was necessary to allot six or seven millions to the sinking fund and seven to the ordinary budget, so that fifty millions only remained to establish the budget of 1,700 millions; then there were 236 for departmental expenses—in all, 1,936 millions for the ordinary budget. Then comes the extraordinary one. The Minister of Public Works is not content with the 119 millions which he got last year, but asks for 144, and the committee makes it 152; but 1,936 millions for the ordinary budget and 152 for the extraordinary make 2,088. Such is the budget of 1866, without counting the rectificative budget, which will infallibly come. Now, I will ask you, have you 2,088 millions of receipt in prospect? I maintain that you have not; that there is a deficit of at least two hundred millions. We are told, indeed, that the sum total of expenses can be reduced; I only hope it may. I cannot, however, agree with M. Garnier Pagès as to the facile suppression of a variety of taxes. There appear to me but four chapters in which savings can be realized—Mexico, if you evacuate it; public works, if you restrict them within bounds; the army, if it really can be reduced; and the sinking fund, if the principle of it, as some say, is really an effete and antiquated theory. The evacuation of Mexico will perhaps wound the susceptibilities of the government. But let me remind the Chamber of the admirable language held by M. de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicence, to Napoleon I., at Dresden, in 1813. "Sire," said he, "conclude this peace; your *amour propre* may suffer, but not your glory; for your glory is that of France, and it is in no

way tarnished by the proposals that have been made to you." I wish, then, to hold the same language to you. Let us imitate Spain in her conduct regarding San Domingo, since her *amour propre* did not hinder her from desisting from a fault which would cost her blood and treasure without any chance of success. By evacuating Mexico, you may save about fifty millions per annum. Again, by a judicious restriction of public works you may realize savings to an extent of twenty, thirty, and in time of fifty millions annually. But with respect to economizing in the army and in the sinking fund I feel considerable doubts. Can there be any notable reduction of our army expenditure? I think not. In 1830 my friends on the left of the Chamber demanded such a reduction, but without success, as the army was not diminished, but increased from 280,000 to 350,000 men. Personally, I share the opinion of Marshal Soult, who thought an effective force of from 360,000 to 380,000 men absolutely necessary. The figure was, indeed, reduced for a moment to 320,000, and what happened in 1840? That it was suddenly raised to 500,000 men, and at an enormous cost. The year 1848 arrived, and the effective was carried to 420,000, and continued so for two years. I come now to the empire. Believe me, I am far from wishing to put the august prince who now occupies the throne in contradiction with himself, but desire merely to cite facts. Prince Louis Napoleon had often in his works applauded the Prussian system, and affirmed that an army of 200,000 men with a strong reserve was quite sufficient for France. Since he has become emperor we are every day told that France cannot do with less than 400,000 soldiers. Thus it is that every one talks of reductions in the army before attaining to power, but power once gained nobody

carries them out. Gentlemen, I do not hold this language for the sake of making myself popular with the French people. The real fact is that promises are often made of which circumstances prevent the fulfilment. For the different foreign services you will always have 100,000 men out of the country, and if you then take the figure of the non-effectives at 50,000, out of the 400,000 you will have 250,000 for our immense territory at home. What is the state of neighboring countries? In Prussia the crown accepts a fearful conflict with the Parliament in order to maintain an effective force of 200,000 men; Austria has 400,000; Russia from 600,000 to 700,000. Those only who have not studied the subject are capable of calling for reduction. A soldier under arms costs about 430 francs a year; suppress 50,000 men, and what will be the economy realized ? About twenty-one millions. Such an economy is certainly not to be condemned; but nothing on a large scale can be realized without inducing, by negotiation, all the great powers to modify their military systems. Nor do I think there is any chance of success as long as Austria continues restless about Venetia, as long as Prussia aims at dominating all the small German states, and as long as Russia shall choose to retain Poland and foster her designs upon the East. I conclude, then, that any serious reduction of the army is impossible.

I must now say a few words on the sinking fund. There is a certain school which affirms that public debts are not disquieting, but even advantageous, and that England is happy in having so large a debt, as so many creditors are interested in her prosperity. Such may be the reasoning of merchants of Rotterdam or Marseilles at the sight of their quays covered with merchandise. "Oh, what splendid com-

merce!" they might exclaim; but if the bales contained goods which they could not pay for, they would change their note. A good financial market ought to be filled with goods representing the debts of other people. It is good here to cite the example of the United States. They redeemed the whole of their debt; and well it was for them, for they were thus enabled to find 20,000 million francs to pay for the reëstablishment of the American Union. I do not, however, wish you to redeem all your debt, but to diminish it. Public debts are like the lakes at the foot of great mountains; nature does not empty them; but, after the snows and rains of winter and spring, she diminishes gradually the mass of water by the dry heats of summer. Debts must be paid off in peace, so that we may be able to borrow when war comes. The government ought to buy up a part of the debt, were it only to afford the State creditors a certainty of finding a market for their securities, which they cannot unless the State maintains its credit. The English Government, after long neglecting the sinking fund, has now decided to buy up every year seventy-five millions (of francs) of the public debt, but yet Mr. Gladstone tells the Parliament that he does not think that sum sufficient, and apologized for not having done more. But you, who have done nothing in that way for ten years, now tell us that you have fulfilled your duties. When we are told that the sinking fund, after being entered as expenditure, is then entered as receipts, the result is the same as if a private individual, after laying aside 1,000 francs to pay his creditors, should spend them before the year was out. I have now gone through the several means of economy proposed; but, with regard to the sinking fund, I must say that not to have effected any reduction of the debt for ten

years, and to continue fifteen years longer in the same course as proposed, is, if I may be allowed the expression, walking blindfold on to bankruptcy. I know you do not intend to do so; but it would be prudent not to incur the risk. As to any great economy in the army, I do not see how it is to be accomplished. In fact the only means of realizing any economy are, in my opinion, the evacuation of Mexico and the restriction of public works. Now, to draw out the balance, have you the 2,088 millions required for your three budgets? If you have, go on; if not, begin at once to economize. All your resources amount to only 1,904 millions, so that you still want 182 millions. Against that sum you set 127 millions from the sinking fund, eighteen millions of supposed surplus on the budget of 1865, in which the committee has no faith; with 27,400,000 francs from the Mexican indemnity, seven or eight millions from Cochin China, and other receipts of small amount. This is all you have toward the 182 millions. But shall you get the 27,400,000 francs from Mexico? You inserted in the budget of 1864 fifty-four millions of Mexican securities, which were calculated at sixty-three, but are now worth only forty-four. Will you sell them at that price? This resource having failed in the budget of 1864, how can you expect to be paid the twenty-seven millions of 1865? The Minister of Finance has also taken twenty-two millions from the Army Dotation Fund, but that cannot be regarded as receipts. In fine, you have only 1.904 millions of receipts, and your expenditure amounts habitually to between 2,200 and 2,300 millions, and this deficit you only cover by means of the sinking fund and chimerical receipts. It will never do for the State thus to represent the finances to be flourishing when they are not, like the directors of certain joint-stock

companies, who distribute dividends which the state of their affairs does not justify. Be sure of one thing; when you engage in unlimited expenditure, apparently unaware of the course you are taking, it is our duty to tell you that you are on the road to ruin. You will be obliged either to fail in the engagements you have contracted in the name of France, or to have recourse to excessive taxation. I ask your pardon for speaking so warmly, but it is impossible to treat a graver or more interesting subject. I repeat that you are running toward the double rock, either of failing in your engagements, or of rendering inevitable the imposition of onerous taxes which may give rise to deplorable divisions. I adjure you to reflect most seriously on this state of affairs. You are on the brink of a financial gulf if you persist in the present course. I ask pardon for distressing you, but it is my duty to tell you the truth, and I tell it, whatever the result may be.

SPEECH AT ARCACHON

DELIVERED OCTOBER 17, 1875

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you most sincerely for the step which you have this day taken toward me, which touches me deeply by the memories that it evokes.

It was in your midst that I passed those four frightful months of our misfortunes. You saw me each day dismayed, distressed, as were you all, at the news of our disasters which succeeded each other without interruption, and I asked myself in despair when the end would come. Suddenly, in this situation of affairs, which seemed without remedy, I found

myself borne down by the weight of an authority which certainly was not enviable, but which I could not refuse; and you have seen with your own eyes my efforts to make head against the reverses of France. You then are my witnesses before her, my witnesses before history, and I thank you for coming this day to bring me your sincere and loyal testimony.

You have seen everything, gentlemen: no army, and if I had possessed one, no resources with which to pay it; 200,000 of the enemies before Paris, as many in Champagne and in Burgundy, 150,000 at Tours menacing Bordeaux, 150,000 at Bourges threatening Lyons; all parties aroused and ready to come to blows; the cities of the south united for the republic; Paris given over to the Commune, and for the information of a government that should surmount these difficulties; the universal defiance of those spirits ready to refuse their aid to any government that should not conform to their prejudices.

In this situation, the memory of which when I recall it moves me profoundly, did I hesitate? No! I did not ask myself if I should succeed. I thought only of my duty which was not to succeed but to dedicate myself. I thought no more of the monarchy than of the republic. I accepted the trust under the form in which it was given, and such as events had made it, resolved to return it as it had been confided to me. To conclude a peace, to make it on the easiest terms, to re-establish order, finance, the army, and, if I could, in paying the ransom of the country deliver it from the presence of the invader, such was the task to be accomplished, the only one with which I occupied myself, and which I announced to the country. With the aid of France herself, which has never ceased, with the aid of God, who has been merciful toward us, the early difficulties have been sur-

mounted; we have seen order somewhat re-established and found ourselves at the gates of Paris.

I was able to gather together, from the remnant left from our losses, a military force of 150,000 men, and if it were sufficient to endeavor to wrench Paris from the grasp of the Commune, it was not sufficient to embrace all the large cities of France profoundly anxious for the maintenance of the republic, and coming to demand of us, with irritation and with defiance if it were for the monarchy that we contended. No, no, I said to them, it is for order, for order only, and acting in the full glare of day, I transmitted to the Tribune the response I had made; no one controverted me; every one voted the measure that I asked. Paris was plucked from the Commune, the assassins of hostages were punished as they deserved, in the name of the law and by the law alone, and France has breathed again.

On that day it was said to me at Tours at various times, You could accomplish everything. Alas, no! The half of my task only had been fulfilled; the enemy occupied the forts of Paris and ravaged our country from the Seine to the Meuse; deplorable conflicts might at any time break out and rekindle the war; and, finally, to withdraw, one by one, our provinces from the hands of our conquerors millions were necessary, and to have millions it was indispensable that credit should be re-established. Well, then, this credit I sought through the policy of pacification. Do you think that, if, audaciously contradicting myself on the morrow of the day when I declared that we contended for order and not for the monarchy, I had endeavored to reinstate it I should have secured the tranquillization of those spirits without which every financial operation was impossible? No, assuredly, no; on the contrary, by remaining faithful to the word given be-

fore the National Assembly, order-loving men being reassured by the destruction of the Commune, the Republicans becoming confident because they had not been deceived, a calm, unexpected, and which astonished Europe, supervened; I had need of six millions and I was offered more than forty, and I was able in two years to gain possession one by one of those occupied districts, to free the country, and to bring back the country to France.

There you have the facts, gentlemen, and if I have recalled them to you it is not to set forth the part I was able to take; no, the country itself is always pleased to bring them to my mind without my invoking its generous recollection.

These facts I recall that we may draw from them that instruction of which we have need, and which should decide the course we have to take for our assured safety.

Very well, gentlemen, the republic is voted; what must be done? I respond without hesitation; one single thing—for each and all to apply themselves frankly and loyally to secure its success. Whatever the future may have in store, there is no other duty than that.

I see many persons impatient to penetrate the future, who, forgetting the fable, imitate the ancient Greeks who went to consult the Sphinx. You all know it; how the treacherous animal listened to them without response, and when they had not solved the enigma, devoured them. Let us not seek an unproven future, and let us consider only duty clear, present, and undeniable. The republic is voted, and, under penalty of being considered the most inconsequent of men, it must, I repeat, be made to succeed.

To make the republic successful, I am told, is most difficult. Yes, I know it; but the monarchy, fallen three times in forty years, is that, then, easier? Without doubt it de-

pends upon the Monarchist party to augment this difficulty by their resistance, by their opposition open, or concealed, but by that would they render possible a monarchy? No: the same causes exist and will exist for a long time. Suppose that by an odious provision the house of Bourbon had but a single representative; there would remain the Napoleons whom we see on certain occasions voting with the Bourbons, but whom we shall never see reigning together. Now two dynasties are quite sufficient for civil war without a third being necessary. The white rose and the red suffice; there is no need to imagine a third.

In creating difficulties for the republic, I repeat, a monarchy is not made easier; chaos only is made possible, and calamities, this time, irreparable.

What is the real situation to-day? The republic is no longer a question of principle but one of application, and it is there that not only do the duties of all of us begin, but those of the government itself.

However, gentlemen, the elections are approaching, and it belongs to France to impress upon the government that unity of which it has absolute need; that, guarding itself from all illiberality—for illiberal governments are sterile—France, acting with discretion, may welcome all men who have taken a decided stand, protecting herself against those who, Republicans the day of the ballot, hasten on the morrow to explain their profession of fealty by the article of our constitutional law which stipulates for revision.

When approaching the ballot-boxes let France not forget that she has her financial system to complete, her military laws to revise,—because those already made are not all good, —her commercial treaties to renew in 1876, her educational system to develop along the lines of modern usage, and, if

to all these difficulties of system, so wearisome, come to be joined the perplexities arising from the division of parties which have rendered everything so difficult in the National Assembly, let France not fail to remember that she will end in that chaos of which I have spoken, and will have accomplished nothing save the loss of time in the eyes of Europe, where it is never lost, for to-day there is not a nation that is not occupying itself in making itself stronger and better governed. At that word Europe I hear more than one voice saying to me: Very well, when you have done all that, even though you have succeeded, you will always remain alone, for the republic will never in the world find allies! Permit me yet a few words more upon this subject which will, perhaps, not be out of place from my lips. The various parties represent Europe each in its own image, and, I sincerely beg their pardon, in thus representing her they often deceive themselves.

Europe to-day is perfectly rational because she is thoroughly enlightened, and in order to be in accord with her do you know what is necessary? A government as rational as she. Without doubt Europe has not always been what she is at present, but rest assured she is no longer the Europe of 1815 nor that of 1830. At that time upon all the thrones, in all the cabinets, there were princes and ministers who had, for forty years, warred against the French Revolution, and when suddenly in 1830 they saw it come forth from that tomb in which they believed it forever buried they were profoundly agitated and dismayed. I saw those times and they will never escape from my memory. To the imaginative it appeared that the honorable Robespierre, that the great and terrible Napoleon would shortly reappear and overturn all thrones. These vain terrors were quickly dissipated; but the

defiance and the bitterness remained. Europe kept herself armed and united against France even after having evacuated her territory through the action effective and patriotic of the Duc de Richelieu; she did not cease assembling in congress almost every year to maintain watch over events, and, at need, would have marched upon France to stifle the revolution which it was reported menaced all governments and all societies.

I ask you if there be anything similar to-day? Without doubt when anything of grave importance happens here with us, we are observed, for France has not ceased to be an object of great attention; but the unanimous opinion of all the governments is that the independence of France should be scrupulously respected, and that to her alone should be left the care of her own affairs.

In short, look about on all the thrones of Europe and you will see that there is not a prince who is not occupied in reforming his dominions, in their social, administrative, and political relations. All are consecrating themselves to this meritorious work with the exception of England, yes, England, who, having a long time ago given to herself liberty, has secured for herself forever the germ of all reforms possible and imaginable.

Such is the Europe of 1875 so different from that of 1815, and even of 1830. She has for forty years united against all reform, and at present has herself become a reformer. I beg those who believe that they draw near to her in resisting the spirit of the age to understand that instead of approaching they are withdrawing from her, and attracting, in place of her sympathy, perchance her censure.

It is insisted, and it is said to me: Yes, despite all that you may assert, these wise princes may be reformers but they will

never be republicans. I hasten to acknowledge it, and I never should pretend that there would be republicans upon the thrones of Russia, of Germany, of Austria, of Italy, and even of England. But do you believe that those sovereigns have their eyes closed when you think your own open? You do not like the republic and yet certain of you have voted for it from principle, from patriotism. Very well, do you think that Europe is not aware of all that you know, and that the reasons that have influenced you are not clear to her? No, no, there was nothing else possible, and she approves that which you have done. She smiles when such and such preferences are ascribed to her. She has neither love nor hate; she cares only for peace; she is bound to it by interest, by humanity, by largeness of views; and there is a certain change that you suppose ought to be agreeable, that she sees with great disquietude, because she believes it neither sensible nor desirable.

As to France, Europe respects her, interests herself in her, and desires her re-establishment because she feels that France is indispensable to European equilibrium. Do you desire a proof of this? This spring, from some unknown cause, certain persons became much agitated, fear of war took possession of their imaginations, and then did Europe show herself hostile or indifferent to France? Far from it! A cry for peace went out from all governments, and peace has been maintained by the weight of universal opinion. An alliance is talked of: is not that the real alliance, the stable alliance, and the only one possible in the present state of things? Without doubt if by an alliance is understood the concert of two or three Powers united for the attainment of a certain end, especial, interested, oh, without doubt France is not of it! and do you wish me to tell you that I know of none similar in Europe to-day. Under this designation no one is allied

to any other, but the whole world is united for the peace of the nations; and this truly holy alliance embraces and protects all interests, and for yet a long time will be the only one desirable, the only one possible.

I resume, gentlemen, these reflections, too extended, perhaps, but which your presence and the memories thereby invoked have caused to flow forth from my mind and from my heart, and I declare to you: Destiny, that is to say, a long chain of circumstances (wherein enter mistakes no longer to be remembered), destiny has decided! No one for five years has been able to re-establish the monarchy, and the National Assembly, although monarchical, has voted the republic. Let us be consistent and seek to make of this republic a government orderly, wise, fruitful, and to that end let us demand of France by future elections, that she impress upon the government that unity of views of which she has such vital need.

Let us pray above all, of this dear and noble France, that she allow neither depreciation nor insult of the immortal revolution of '89 against which so many efforts are to-day directed, and which is our purest and greatest glory among nations, for it is that which for three quarters of a century has caused the entrance of justice into the legislation of all peoples.

When, in short, the whites were enfranchised in Europe by the hand of a wise and generous prince, when in America the blacks beheld their shackles broken by the hand of a great nation, it was because the spirit of '89 breathed upon those regions so far away.

Certain it is that we had attained the height of our military glory, and this glory, for a moment in eclipse, will never perish; but, if military glory is a sun that at times veils itself

in clouds, the glory of civilization is a sun that never ceases the splendor of its shining. It is that, and I have been able to distinguish it among foreign nations, it is that which, always resplendent, even at the moment of our greatest reverses, aroused in our favor the sympathy of all nations, even of those the least well-disposed toward us. Let us then unite in preserving this noble past of the national patrimony, and, in so far as it concerns me, it will always have in its defence the efforts of a life drawing to its close, but which until its latest day will remain faithful to all the noble interests of reason and of humanity.

[Special translation by Mary Emerson Adams.]

BELL

JOHN BELL, an American politician, was born near Nashville, Tennessee, February 15, 1797, and was educated at the University of Nashville. Becoming prominent in the politics of his State, he was sent in 1827 as representative to Congress, and continued in the House until 1841, being speaker of the House in 1834. During this period he was conspicuous as a protectionist congressman. He was elected senator in 1847 and again in 1853, and actively opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Lecompton Constitution from the floor of the Senate. In 1860, as one of the four candidates for the presidency, he received thirty-nine electoral votes. At the opening of the Civil War he strongly opposed secession, but objected to the principle of coercion, and with other Tennesseeans issued an address urging that their State preserve an armed neutrality. He died at Cumberland Iron Works, Tennessee, September 10, 1869. Many speeches of his were printed singly, but no collection has been made.

SPEECH ON NON-INTERVENTION

DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, APRIL 13, 1852

I HAVE said that the great American question of the day is, How is this country to be affected by the present condition of Europe?

What, then, is the position of Europe, at present, in relation to the great principles and questions connected with the organic forms of government? Sir, I propose briefly to sketch the recent changes and what I consider to be the present condition of Europe in these important aspects.

You may remember, sir, that general tranquillity and confidence in the established order of things had reigned in Europe for a considerable period when the sudden and unexpected overthrow of Louis Philippe, followed in rapid succession by popular and insurrectionary movements in Italy and the German states, in Austria and Hungary, roused the world from its supineness. The simultaneous movement of the Liberals in

so many states, and their partial successes, inspired the lovers of freedom everywhere with hopes of the most beneficent results and led to the greatest excitement; but the public mind, with the receding tide of republican successes, regained its composure without its confidence. The unsettled condition of affairs and the power of the contending factions in one great country still held the public mind in suspense, and all awaited the solution of French politics, perceiving that upon that would depend in no small degree the future quiet of the Continent. That solution came like a clap of thunder to unexpecting ears, on the *coup d'état* of the 2d of December. The excitement was now intense and expectation continued on tiptoe until the question would be solved—which had no clue in the knowledge or conjecture of this country—whether the French people, appealed to as they were with every external show of freedom of choice, would condemn or approve the daring usurpation of Louis Napoleon.

While in this suspense, lo! tidings came that seven of the eight millions of the adult male population of France had approved and sanctioned the decree which abolished the republic and confided to the arbitrary will of one man the power of reconstructing their government. Thirty-six millions of freemen thus voluntarily surrendered their liberty and gave their powerful sanction to the creed that popular sovereignty was not a safe element in the organic form of a government!

If the event of the 2d of December was startling, these last tidings were absolutely astounding; and men's minds were set to work to account for the strange and unexpected result, scarcely yet doubting that the next arrival of a steamer from abroad would bring accounts of a spontaneous and successful uprising of the partisans of freedom in France which had hurled the daring usurper from power.

But astonishing as were the events I have just recounted, the fact—the most amazing to me, at the time, of all that have transpired since the expulsion of Louis Philippe from his throne—remains yet to be stated.

Contemporaneously with the first report of the event of the 2d of December which reached this country, came vague, and at the time little credited, assurances that the movement of Louis Napoleon would not only be successful, but that the peace of France and of Europe would be rather consolidated than disturbed by its success! And now, after four months, after more than a hundred days have passed, fresh assurances reach us from so many reliable sources to the same effect that it would seem a species of madness any longer to resist absolute conviction on that point—assurances the more incredible from the first, when we consider that they were accompanied by advices that the King of Prussia, following the lead of France and Austria, was proceeding as fast as he durst to remodel the constitution of his government upon a basis which excluded every vestige of republicanism.

What, then, sir, is now the recognized and well-understood position of the nations of Europe—the cradle and still the great nursery of modern civilization—in regard to popular rights and free government? Let facts speak the answer. If what we hear be true of Prussia, then the four great Powers of the Continent are modelling their governments upon the basis of absolutism—upon the theory that popular sovereignty or popular control to any extent in the affairs of government, directly or by representative assemblies, is incompatible with peace and order, and utterly subversive of the securities and blessings of civil society. Sir, a new order of things has arisen which decrees the abolition of the very symbols of liberty. Every monument of the transient existence of for-

mer republics—every inscription, every memento of former freedom, is to be razed to its foundations, effaced and obliterated, so that no trace shall remain, no tradition be allowed to go down to posterity of the time when republican forms had found a foothold in Europe.

Thus, sir, the great and imposing fact stares us in the face, that the continent of Europe has reverted to the old ideas of monarchy and absolutism; and liberty lies prostrate, discarded and dishonored.

And what, I repeat, as still more surprising, is that the opinion prevails, founded upon the most reliable sources of information—the entire mercantile class, the stock market, the great capitalists upon the London Exchange and the Paris Bourse, the money kings, who have their argus eyes fixed upon every part of the Continent, and their secret agents in every cabinet—not only that republicanism is down, but that there will be no further commotion, no war, and that this state of things is permanent in Europe!

Can this be true, Mr. President? Can it be true that the spirit of liberty is extinct in Europe; or, if existing at all, so feeble, so exhausted, so dead, as to give no signs of future awakening; no promise of an early resurrection! and this, too, in the middle of the nineteenth century and among the most civilized people of the earth; this, too, in the full and meridian blaze of science, moral and physical—in an age which has been emphatically and universally proclaimed and recognized as the age of progress, to distinguish it from all antecedent ages and generations of the world!

Sir, at such a time as this, in such an age as this, among a people so civilized, to affirm that a new order and condition of things has arisen which rejects and repudiates the idea of popular rights or sovereignty as incompatible with the ends

of society, and that this state of things is permanent! or affirm that republicanism is effete—fast becoming an obsolete idea; that its merits have been weighed in the balance and found wanting; that the handwriting has appeared upon the wall announcing confiscation and banishment to the partisans of freedom! Why, I wonder that some gentlemen do not start from their seats in this chamber upon the announcement of so stupendous a fact upon any credible authority—and yet the authority is the highest known in the range of human testimony.

And this is the advancing spirit of the age; this the denouement, the final result of sixty years of revolution, of agony and of blood, in the cause of liberty in Europe! . . .

The great curse of Europe of the present day is that the theories and doctrines of the champions and advocates of liberty and republicanism have, all along, proceeded upon the same error which rendered all the philosophy of the schools of antiquity abortive, and, for the most part, utterly useless to mankind. They all proceed upon abstractions.

All their theories of society and government, all their ideas of liberty and equality, and the forms they would institute to secure them, are founded upon some preconceived notion of what they conceive ought to be right and proper, without the slightest reference to any practical test—to anything that has been proved to be sound and practicable in the past history of the world.

Sir, to get right, and to be able to construct true and practical systems of government, they must first reconstruct their system of philosophizing; they must reconstruct their own theories and adapt them to human nature as they have seen it developed in the past, as they see it displayed at the present day. They must adapt them to the races of men as they per-

ceive them to exist in all their varieties and differences of capacities and propensities, without troubling themselves about the question of original unity or equality. They must found their theories upon experience and not upon fancy.

They must come to understand that the competency of man for self-government is not a simple or universal truth, but that it is a complex and conditional proposition, which may be true of one and the same people at one stage of their progress and not at another; and as to races, they must come to learn that every race has a civilization peculiar to itself, and physical and mental faculties of various grades of capacity for improvement and development, as all history testifies.

In short, they must adopt the method of reasoning and theorizing pointed out by the great founder of modern progress, Bacon. When they shall have done this they will have taken the first step toward a true progress in the science of government. Discarding all unmeaning cant and catch terms about liberty and equality, they must come to know that there is a liberty, that there is an equality which is agreeable to nature, a liberty and an equality resting on a basis that will stand, and that all else is spurious, delusive and mischievous.

I trust, sir, I may now be allowed, without taking my final leave of Europe, to pay a short visit to America—America, always open and exposed to every disease or contagion, moral and physical, which originates in a foreign atmosphere. We see it proclaimed through the columns of a thousand presses in this country that the spirit of democracy is necessarily progressive. I ask pardon—for I intended to divest myself as far as possible of every partisan view and feeling in delivering my sentiments on this great subject; but I am unable to proceed in my argument without allusions and the use of terms which may seem to have a partisan cast.

We are told that reform in this free country is a laggard—that it lingers far in the rear of the advancing spirit of the age. Sir, it is proclaimed through the same channels to the people of this country that too much of the old anti-democratic leaven still lurks in our constitutional forms and in our legislation.

By a more circumscribed party, but still widely diffused over the country and of no insignificant influence, our institutions are denounced as being oppressive and unjust to the natural rights of mankind, alien to liberty, upholding social forms which admit of no equality of position or of happiness; that there is no true fraternity; no freedom, such as the spirit of the age and the progress of civilization demand.

Whence this type of democracy in this country? No man can mistake the paternity. It is European born. It is the same type of democracy which has undone the cause of liberty in Europe; and its mission in this country can never be accomplished but by the ruin of liberty in America. Does not everyone know that the most popular and leading champions of the cause of republicanism and democracy in Europe regard with positive contempt—nay, that they turn away with disgust—at the very mention of American republicanism. They scorn to receive our American, home-bred ideas of liberty.

Why, say they, you have no philosophy; you have no true and lofty conceptions of the destiny of man and of human society; you are far in the rear of European enlightenment upon all these subjects! Such are the arrogant pretensions of the European champions of liberty. Some of the more reckless among them have the hardihood to declare that our whole system is false, and that if it cannot be reformed they are prepared to destroy it; that it is a model which misleads the friends of freedom abroad, and that it had better be pulled down than upheld in error! . . .

But should that war of opinion, so long predicted, that war of principle, that great conflict between the free and the despotic forms of government—should such a war as that arise in Europe, do you think, Mr. President, as a sound, practical statesman, and with your experience and observation of this country, and its present population—do you suppose that if such a conflict should arise in Europe—a conflict involving the settlement of principles which may have universal ascendency for centuries—that we should be so unimpressible, so indifferent, that we could not be drawn into it, despite all calculations of policy or of interest?

Do you conceive, sir, with your knowledge of the heart of this country at this day, that a cold and sordid calculation of mercantile profit, that the devotion to mammon, or any more laudable service, would be so faithful and intense as to restrain even those reckless passions and emotions which belong to our nature, to say nothing of freezing up all generous and noble impulses, tempting us to enlist on the side of freedom in such a strife? No; the time has never been when, in any one country in Christendom, mind meets mind in fierce conflict upon principles which touch nearly the social feelings and interests of men, the mental strife would not become contagious and move the sympathies of every other.

But let the clash of arms add to the excitement, and the blood will be stirred and fired in its inmost recesses. Let the tidings of such a conflict, such a war of opinion, but reach our shores, and, my word for it, whatever may be the conclusions of mere policy, Young and Old America alike will be swayed to and fro by the passions natural to the occasion, like the trees of a forest swept by a strong wind.

Little time, I ween, would be allowed for weighing the counsels of the illustrious and immortal sages of fifty years

ago. Nor are the feelings and calculations which sway the twenty millions of freemen of this day the same which controlled the two or three millions of fifty years ago. All change is not progress; but the law of change, under changing circumstances and conditions, is inexorable. We have our destined career to run. Nations cannot stand still until the point of maturity and manhood is passed; as yet we go forward; and we will go forward; whether for good is another question. Our discretion may not, however, be put to the test of a war of opinion in Europe at this juncture.

But if a war should spring up in Europe of the old-fashioned kind—a war of aggression on one side, and defence on the other—a war of ambition and conquest, with the feelings of jealousy and of resentment which may exist on the part of the nations of Europe against the United States at this time, do you suppose that such a war can rage in Europe for one year, especially if any of the great maritime powers be parties to it, without compromising the peace of this country? Our commerce and navigation are too extensive and widely diffused; the general competition for the trade of the world is become too fierce to allow any escape from a collision with the belligerents of Europe.

Have you not seen, sir, in the last few years, how difficult it is, even in times of peace, to digest the insults which the war vessels of Great Britain, presuming upon their superior naval power, occasionally offer to our flag? But let there once be war and you will soon perceive the difference in the calculations and feelings which control the people of this country and of this generation and those which controlled them forty or fifty years ago. Since that period we have grown six or seven fold greater in population and resources; and, true to the characteristic traits of our lineage, we have grown in conceit of our

puissance still more. Neither our temper nor our prudence improves with the changing circumstances of our condition and resources. Let there be a war in Europe, and the first open violation of our neutral rights, the first breach of the accustomed courtesies to our flag, will be instantly retaliated, and thus the war would be begun, all unprepared as we may be.

And let me say to the people of this country that, with the feelings which exist probably at this moment in Europe, any of the maritime powers of that continent would be nothing loth to accept the issue of war thus presented. The weak points in our condition, our six thousand miles of inadequately protected seacoast, to say nothing of other causes which may paralyze our energies, are as well understood abroad as at home.

And let me say further that, under existing circumstances, it will be rare good fortune if, in any European war in which we shall be engaged, we shall not have the sympathies of every other power of that continent enlisted against us, except only such as may be strengthened by our interposition. . . .

The last great practical conclusion to which I have intended to direct my remarks is, that in view of the present posture of European affairs; in view of the prospect of a war, at no distant day, in which the United States may be eventually involved; in view of the obligations and responsibilities we have already incurred; in view of the honor, dignity, and duty which attach to our position in the family of nations; in view of the wisdom, prudence, and forecast which should distinguish a great model republic in providing against the contingencies of the future; in view of our own safety; in view of the best method of preserving the blessings of peace; in view of the

policy of reviving and cementing a truly national spirit and sentiment throughout the land, we should lose no time in making every essential preparation to put forth the energies and resources of the country in any emergency which may arise, in such manner as to successfully fulfil and discharge all our obligations, all our duties; and which, if we omit to do, we may justly incur the reproaches and, it may be, the curses of the present and of future generations.

What are those preparations? What I propose is:

First, to look well and narrowly into the operation of our financial system; to provide the proper securities for an ample revenue against the contingency of war, and the consequent interruptions of foreign trade; to give every encouragement within the competency of the national government to the improvement and extension of internal commerce; and especially to establish a direct overland communication, by the construction of a railway between the valley of the Mississippi and the Pacific coast.

Secondly, to give to the spirit and resources of the country their full efficiency and development it becomes our duty to guard with increased vigilance against all causes of sectional irritation and to eradicate, as far as possible, from the national councils and policy the seeds of sectional strife, as we would the deadly nightshade from our grounds; not by proscription and denunciation, but by cultivating a spirit of mutual forbearance and conciliation.

Thirdly, to strengthen our national defences; to place them upon a footing which may not leave the country exposed, in the event of war, to shameful and mortifying disasters; and especially to add largely to our military marine, a measure demanded by our extended foreign trade, and the manifest inadequacy of the present naval establishment to give to it

that protection and security which is necessary even in time of peace.

From a statement, the most authentic and reliable I have been able to procure, of the present naval armaments of the states of Europe, it appears that Great Britain can put afloat a fleet of 678 effective war vessels of all classes—150 of which are propelled by steam—with an aggregate complement of 18,000 guns. The French navy consists of 328 effective war vessels, with an aggregate of 8,000 guns. Russia has a fleet of 175 effective war vessels, with an aggregate complement of 6,000 guns. The proportion of war steamers in the navies of France and Russia I am not able to state upon any reliable authority; but from statements I have seen and which I attach some credit to, the war steamers of the French navy may be set down at 100. That was the number authorized by the government of France in 1845.

I will not extend these remarks by any notice of the naval establishments of the inferior maritime powers of Europe; but I am sure the Senate will take an interest in the statement I am able to make of the navy of the United States, which consists of 76 effective vessels of all classes, with an aggregate complement of 2,250 guns; and of these vessels six are propelled by steam!

Such is the naval force that we must rely upon for the protection of the honor of our flag, our commerce, which penetrates every sea accessible to American enterprise, and an ocean frontier of 6,000 miles in extent!

Such is the beggarly and miserable preparation of the means of maritime warfare, either offensive or defensive, with which we proceed to provoke and insult the great powers of continental Europe! Why, sir, one single fact ought to be sufficient to awaken in the minds of the people of this coun-

try a lively apprehension of the perils of the condition in which we may be placed. Our communication at this moment with California and Oregon, for all purposes of effective supply and defence, is by sea, requiring an average voyage of four thousand miles by the Isthmus route, and of sixteen thousand miles, and not less than six months' time, if the passage be made around Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan.

It will thus be seen at a glance that either of the maritime powers of Europe, whose navies I have alluded to, could, in one or two months' time, so effectually block up our only reliable communication with California and Oregon as to defy all the resources of this country short of a year or two's preparation to re-open it.

But that is not the most lamentable and mortifying aspect of the condition of affairs in this country. At a period of time when all the eastern world may be regarded as trembling upon the verge of convulsion and change; when principles most vital and momentous to mankind threaten to become the subject of universal conflict; at a period when we may be exposed to a hostile combination of all the great powers of continental Europe; at such a period as this, under such circumstances as these, what are the prevalent ideas and passions and cares which occupy American politicians and statesmen? The passion for place and position, the idea of power!

These are the ideas and passions which control every great interest in this country; every branch of public policy, internal and external, foreign and domestic commerce, the extension and improvement of internal communications, the public defences; all, all are become but secondary considerations, neglected or molded into shapes and forms subservient to the purposes or adapted to the exigencies of the great, the eternal conflict which goes on as to whose hand, or what clique, or

faction, or party, shall be made the depositary, from time to time, of the power and patronage of the government.

Even the slave question could not escape the predominant and controlling passion of the times; originally stimulated into being and wrought up to its present complexion by the same interests, it is indebted for all its present disturbing vitality to the necessities and exigencies of these factions or parties, if you please to dignify them by the name, including, if you choose, the party to which I belong.

I would not do so great an act of discourtesy or injustice to the honorable members who grace this chamber by their presence and enlighten it by their counsels, nor to the politicians and statesmen of the country generally, as to deny that there are many individual exceptions to the general averment I have made as to the passions and influences which control public affairs. But, with this explanation I repeat that all political calculations and speculations verge to one end. One idea reigns triumphant throughout the land—the idea of power! And this, too, at such a period in the affairs of the world; this, too, in the American republic! Well may we invoke the spirit and the counsels of Washington to inspire us with wisdom and kindle once more in our bosoms the flame of revolutionary patriotism.

DIX

JOHN ADAMS DIX, an American statesman and soldier, was born at Boscawen, New Hampshire, July 24, 1798. He entered the army as ensign at the age of fourteen, but, soon after becoming a captain in 1825, resigned his commission and began the study of law. He removed to Cooperstown in 1828 to begin the practice of his profession, where he became prominent as a Democratic politician. He was successively state adjutant-general, state superintendent of common schools, and secretary of state of New York. In 1845 he was appointed to the United States Senate, and in 1848 was the unsuccessful candidate of the Free-Soil Democrats for governor of New York. He was secretary of the United States treasury in 1861 and it was at this period that he telegraphed to a naval officer the since famous order, "If any one attempts to tear down the American flag shoot him on the spot." In May of that year he was made major-general of volunteers and the following year was placed in command at Fortress Monroe. During the draft riots in New York city in July, 1863, General Dix was in command in New York and acted promptly in restoring order. He was minister to France, 1866-68, and in 1872 was elected governor of New York by the Republicans. He retired to private life at the expiration of his term of office, and died in New York city, April 21, 1879. His published writings include "Resources of the City of New York" (1827); "A Winter in Madeira and a Summer in Spain and France" (1885); "Speeches and Occasional Addresses" (1864); and privately printed translations of the "Dies Iræ" (1863), and the "Stabat Mater" (1868).

ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION

FROM SPEECH DELIVERED AT ALBANY, NEW YORK, APRIL 2, 1830

THE subject of African colonization is full of powerful appeals to sympathy; but it is not my intention to advert to any topics of this description. Considered as a mere measure of political economy it has as strong a claim upon us in its tendency to hasten the extinction of slavery as any measure which can be devised for the promotion of the productive industry of the United States. It is an opinion

as ancient as slavery itself that the labor of bondmen is gradually destructive of the soil to which it is applied; it is only where the cultivator has an actual interest in the soil that the care and attention necessary to perpetuate its productiveness will be bestowed upon it. There is an account by Columella of the condition of Roman agriculture when it had passed from the hands of the citizens into those of slaves which is applicable to every country in which slave labor has been employed for a length of time. Pliny refers the decline of the agriculture of Rome to the same cause,—to its transfer from freemen to slaves, wearing upon their very countenances the badges of servitude,—"*Vincti pedes, damnatæ manus, inscripti vultus exercent.*"[1] And Tacitus, in referring to the same causes, says that Italy could not be subsisted but for the supplies derived from the provinces. "*Nisi provinciarum copiæ et dominis, et servitiis et agris subvenerint.*"[2]

Yet the territories of Rome were remarkable for their fertility and productiveness as long as they were cultivated by her own citizens. When agriculture had become degraded from an honorable pursuit to a mere menial occupation; when the implements of husbandry had passed from the hands of Cato and Cincinnatus into those of the captives of Phrygia and Thrace; and when, to translate the words of a Roman author, the fields of Italy resounded with the clattering of innumerable chains, Rome became dependent for the sustenance of her own citizens upon the productions of distant provinces; and, in the language of Tacitus, the daily subsistence of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves.

[1] "Their shackled feet, their fettered hands, their servile faces employ them."

[2] "Unless the stores of the provinces assisted both masters and slaves and fields."

The authority of antiquity is confirmed by the opinion of our own times. With a single exception, every modern writer upon political economy asserts the superior productiveness of free labor and the tendency of slave labor to waste and consume the fertility of the soil to which it is applied. It has been shown conclusively that wherever free labor can be found it is most profitable to employ it.

And it would be contrary to all the deductions of reason if it were not so. The industry which is not protected in the enjoyment of a portion of its own proceeds cannot be so productive as that which is recompensed in proportion to its exertions. In the agricultural operations of the slave, nature is the principal laborer, and her power soon becomes exhausted without the renovating care and providence of man. Whether industrious or indolent the slave must be clothed and subsisted; let him produce as much as you will, and he is entitled to nothing more at the hands of his master.

His impulses are all derived from physical causes and these of the weakest class; he is not even stimulated by physical necessity or suffering, for these it is the interest and care of the master to relieve. So much has the mind to do with the operations of human industry that even in countries where by oppressive taxation all the proceeds of man's labor, excepting a bare subsistence, are absorbed by his government, the labor of the freeman is far more productive than that of the slave. His condition may be no better; his supplies of clothing and subsistence may not be more abundant; he may be equally restricted in his comforts: but he ministers to his own wants; he does not receive his daily subsistence at the hands of a taskmaster; his little surplus, whatever it be, is his own; and he is not controlled in the application of it to his own uses.

The results of our own experience on this subject concur

with the united testimony of ancient and modern times. It is impossible to pass from a State in which slavery exists to one in which it is prohibited without perceiving a marked difference in the condition of the soil and in the structures which human art has reared upon its surface. But it is not by ocular observation alone that the fact of the difference is attested. In contiguous sections lands of the same quality bear a different price, and the disparity is constantly increasing with the duration of the cause. It seems to be a law of slavery that it gradually consumes and dissipates the resources of those to whom it is tributary. There are exceptions to the observations, but not in sufficient number to affect its accuracy as a general principle.

If the place of every slave in the United States could be supplied by a free laborer the augmentation of our productive industry would be immense, and it would totally renovate the face of the country in which the exchange should take place. At the lowest calculation there is a difference of one third in the productiveness of free and slave labor in favor of the former, independently of the gradual destruction of the powers of the soil by the latter.

Free and slave labor move in opposite directions from the same point of departure; and while one is regularly diminishing the capacity of the earth for production, the other is constantly nourishing and invigorating its powers. It is one of the consequences of this tendency of slave labor to deteriorate the properties of the earth, that it cannot reclaim what it has once exhausted. There are lands in the Northern and Middle States now exceedingly productive which were formerly exhausted by slave labor; and so they would have continued to this day if they had not been reclaimed by free labor.

Some of the most beautiful sections of Virginia, under the

operation of injudicious systems of husbandry by slaves, wear the aspect of wastes and barrens; and so they will remain until they shall be renovated by the hands of freemen. That this result is not a distant one may readily be shown. The influence of great moral causes which are working far more momentous changes than this would alone be sufficient to produce it. But it is destined to attend upon particular causes now in operation within our own limits,—causes peculiar to the condition of the country and the state of society. Slave labor, from its inferior productiveness, cannot compete with free labor; wherever the latter appears the former must give place to it.

This principle is visible throughout the North in the abolition of slavery: the progress of emancipation has been regular toward the South; peculiarities of soil and climate have retarded its progress, but it is retarded only. In several sections of Maryland and Virginia emigration from the Middle States has introduced a laboring class of whites; and wherever they have appeared slaves have given place to them. The masters find it more profitable to sell their slaves and hire free laborers. It is in this manner that freedom is constantly encroaching upon the dominion of servitude.

But there are other and mightier causes in operation which are rapidly approaching this result. Recent examinations have shown that, with the exception of the States of Missouri and Louisiana, we have only sufficient territory beyond the Mississippi river for four more States of the dimensions of Missouri. Farther on lies a barren waste extending to the base of the Rocky Mountains, without wood, water, or stone, and therefore unfit for the habitation of an agricultural people. This fact is not, perhaps, understood, but it has been satisfactorily ascertained by philosophical observers.

The region referred to is as distinctive in its character as the desert of Siberia, to the descriptions of which it is said to bear a general resemblance; and it is probably destined at a future day to constitute a boundary between us and our dependencies, or between us and another people as flourishing and powerful as ourselves.

At our past rate of increase settlement will soon press upon these limits: the vacant places within them will be filled up; and the current of emigration which has so long been flowing across the Alleghanies will be poured back upon the region in which it has its source. The surplus population of the Northern and Middle States will find its way to the vacant spots in Virginia which slavery has exhausted and abandoned; it will penetrate to the very seat of its strength, and it will gradually uproot and destroy it.

In every contest the inferior must yield to the superior power; and who can doubt the issue, sir, when the contest shall be between brute force and the moral force of opinion—between a class whose impulses are all derived from physical causes and another class whose incentives to exertion are derived from the mind itself? Slavery will cease to be profitable; and when this shall happen slaves will cease to be cherished by their possessors. They may be emancipated; but emancipation cannot elevate their condition or augment their capacity for self-preservation. Want and suffering will gradually diminish their numbers and they will disappear, as the inferior has always disappeared before the superior race.

The fate of the African is as certain as that of the original possessors of the soil upon which we stand; but there will be no heroism or dignity in his fall; his struggles will be with the arts, not the arms, of his oppressors; he will leave nothing behind him but the history of his sufferings and his degrada-

tion to challenge the remembrance or the sympathy of after-times.

Colonization is the only expedient by which these evils can even be mitigated. We may prevent the increase of the African race within our limits; we may provide for them a refuge to which they may flee when their presence shall be useless to us and their condition here intolerable to themselves; we may substitute removal for extinction; and by our own providence we may enable many, perhaps the mass, to escape what would otherwise be their inevitable fate.

But it is not merely because slavery is an impediment to the development of our national resources that its presence among us is to be deplored. It is an impediment also to an assertion of the rank which we claim to hold among the advocates of the rights of man.

It may not put at hazard the success of the great experiment which we are carrying on of the competency of mankind to self-government; for it is not inconsistent with its success that he who is fitted for freedom should hold in bondage his fellow man. But it involves, unquestionably, a denial of the fundamental doctrine of our political institutions, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are natural and inalienable rights.

It is a degradation of the tenure of freedom from a principle above all human law to the principle of brute force—the principle from which despotism itself derives its title. It may not impair the stability of our free institutions; but it impairs our influence in promoting the diffusion of their principles. For who shall be bound to attend to the assertion of rights by us which we refuse to recognize in others? With what effect can we pronounce the eulogium of free institutions when our utterance is mingled and confounded with the accents of oppression

and servitude? We have, unquestionably, a justification in the fact that slavery was imposed upon us against our wishes during our dependence upon a foreign state; but this circumstance will cease to be a justification the moment we falter in our exertions to redress the injury.

In speaking these sentiments I say nothing to which the sentiments of every liberal gentleman in the South will not respond. Nor do I fear, sir, that their utterance here will be misapprehended. I believe the universal feeling of this assembly will bear me out in saying that the slaveholding States themselves would not be more ready than we to resist any attempt to exterminate the unquestionable evil of slavery by measures not warranted by the constitution under which we live. That it has been abolished with us is the happiness of our accidental position; that it still exists in other sections of the Union is the misfortune of theirs. When and in what manner it shall be abolished within the limits of individual States must be left to their own voluntary deliberations.

The federal government has no control over this subject: it concerns rights of property secured by the federal compact, upon which our civil liberties mainly depend; it is a part of the same collection of political rights, and any invasion of it would impair the tenure by which every other is held. For this reason alone, if for no other, we would discountenance and oppose any attempt to control it by unconstitutional interference. We can only hope, in advocating the plan of colonization, that the theatre of its operations may be extended at a future day in subordination to the wishes and arrangements of the slaveholding States.

There is a higher object in the contemplation, and I trust within the compass of this institution,—the civilization of the African continent by means of our colonial establishments

along the coast. With the exception of a few points along the Mediterranean, hardly extending into the interior sufficiently to indent it, this continent has been buried throughout all the changes of human society in perpetual darkness. Whatever civilization may have done for other portions of the earth, it has done nothing for Africa. Ignorance and barbarism, opposing an impenetrable cloud to the lights of religion and science, which have at different eras risen upon the world, have spread a vast, unbroken shadow over the whole face of that continent.

Civilization has indeed visited Africa—not to elevate and enlighten, but to corrupt and debase—to convert simplicity into error and darkness into depravity. Sir, we are accustomed to shrink with horror and indignation from a recital of the cruelties inflicted upon modern Greece by her barbarous oppressors.

But all the miseries which that classical region has endured during century after century of Ottoman domination would not fill up the measure of suffering which Africa is every year sustaining through the seductions of her Christian spoilers. The massacre of Scio may present a sublimity of suffering, an acuteness of distress, a fulness of desolation, which carry their appeals to the sympathies with greater boldness and intensity, like that which a single slave-ship presents in the history of its miserable tenants, if we follow them out from the forcible separation to the prolonged, the boundless career of servitude which opens on them at the hour of their captivity.

Civilization alone can heal the wounds and assuage the sufferings of western Africa. Wherever her influence is felt, the slave-trade has ceased; and it is in the most benighted regions of that continent that she can most effectually plant those beacons of intelligence from which her lights are to be re-

flected to the interior. Egypt and Barbary are shut out from the approaches of civilization in the direction of the European continent by an intervening sea: they lie over against portions of Europe in which knowledge and truth have made the least progress; and these barriers between the two continents are rendered almost insurmountable by false systems of religion and government which hold in bondage the African states. Colonization, on the other hand, has fixed her very seat in the empire of ignorance; she is surrounded on all sides by a surface of extended, unbroken, unmitigated darkness.

The mind of western and central Africa is a vast blank, upon which no inscription of falsehood or bigotry has ever been traced: civilization, in asserting her dominion over it, has no error to eradicate or prejudice to subdue; there is no obstacle to stay the progress of knowledge; Nigritia, Ethiopia and Abyssinia are all open to its approaches; and the time may not be far distant when the lights of civilization, issuing from the beacons of Montserrado, shall be diffused over the whole face of the African continent—to change it, as they have changed every region which their influence has overspread.

These anticipations may seem sanguine, and they are, doubtless, to be contemplated rather in a spirit of distant hope than of present expectation. They look however to changes inferior, if possible, to those which the same causes have wrought upon this continent. If any one had ventured a century ago to extend his view to the present moment and had foretold what this age has accomplished, he would have incurred the reproach of visionary speculation.

Nay, sir, what credit would he have obtained who had ventured to foretell, twenty years ago, the changes that have been wrought within our own limits?—who had predicted that in this short period the western wilderness would be

penetrated and subdued; that the boundaries of the republic would be borne onward to extremities which were not even explored; and that a line of civilization would be extended around us which can never be broken by a hostile force?

Sir, the opinion of mankind has always followed the march of improvement; and it is rarely even that individual opinion has preceded it. The civilization of Africa may be frustrated by unforeseen contingencies; but a moral power is in operation there which no obstacle has ever yet been able to resist. The stores of knowledge, unlike all others, can neither be wasted not consumed; no further deluge of vandalism can overwhelm the places of her dominion to destroy her treasures or extinguish her lights. The physical annihilation of three quarters of the globe would be necessary to blot out the evidences of her moral conquests and arrest their extension to the other.

Since the invention of the press, the movement of society has been uniformly a forward movement, and there is not an instance of retrogression with any people to whom the influence of knowledge has extended. Her empire is fixed in Africa, and it will soon be beyond the reach of human force. Our anticipations may not all be realized; our hopes may not all be fulfilled; but if we err, we shall err with the spirit of the age, not in opposition to it. If the objects in view of the plan of colonization were to be attempted by a public sacrifice, we should not perhaps be justifiable in seeking to accomplish them. But every step we take is in coincidence with the public interest and the public reputation. Every liberated African who is withdrawn from us diminishes the general mass of ignorance, vice, and degradation by which our social operations are embarrassed and oppressed. We are fulfilling also a duty which we owe to the unfortunate race for whose benefit

this institution was originally designed. Whatever we have done, whatever we may do, to ameliorate their condition among us, they are destined to be forever proscribed and debased by our prejudices.

Emancipation cannot liberate us from the responsibility which rests upon us. The free black, whom prejudice consigns to a moral debasement in the North, is as deeply injured as the slave who in the South is held by physical bondage. We cannot insist on the plea of necessity to mitigate the odium which attaches to us as the authors of his degradation until we shall have employed every expedient to relieve him from it. The hopelessness in which his crimes and his depravation have their origin is in its turn a fruit of our prejudices; and we shall not have done what is incumbent on us unless our cooperation is lent to remove him from the theatre of their influence. We are bound by every principle of justice and humanity to provide the means of removal for all who ask a removal at our hands.

We are bound by every motive of patriotism to promote the emigration of a caste whose presence among us is an impediment to the development of our national resources, to the progress of our social improvements, and to the fulfilment of our destinies as a great people. And we are bound by our devotion to the cause of liberal government to unite in the execution of a plan of which the most distant result may be the extinction of an institution which stands alone and isolated among the other institutions of society—a solitary monument of a barbarous age.

AZEGLIO

GIUSEPPE MARIA GIROLAMO RAFFAELE MASSIMO TAPARELLI MARCHESE D'AZEGLIO, a distinguished Italian statesman and author, was born of noble family at Turin, Sardinia, October 24, 1798. At the age of fifteen a visit to Rome inspired him with a love for art, which he later studied; he made his home in Rome from 1821-29, and became noted as a landscape-painter. In 1830 he removed to Milan, where he married the daughter of the great Italian novelist, Manzoni, and became deeply absorbed in politics and literature, pursuing the latter with the definite hope of being able thereby to further the cause of Italian unity. His historical novel, "Ettore Fieramosca" (1833), obtained an extended popularity, as did also its successor, "Niccoló de' Lapi" (1841). Politically Azeglio was a constitutional monarchist and greatly disapproved of the plots and conspiracies by which Mazzini and others attempted the freeing of Italy, but which resulted only in deepening the distress of the situation. In 1846 he published "Degli Ultimi Casi di Romagna" ("Of the Last Events in the Romagna"), a political treatise in which the papal rule of Gregory XVI was sharply satirized and the republican insurrections denounced. After the death of Gregory he was instrumental in persuading Pope Pius IX to adopt a liberal policy. At the battle of Vicenza against the Austrians in 1848, Azeglio commanded a legion and was severely wounded. In the same year he published "The Austrian Assassinations in Lombardy." During the first Sardinian Parliament he sat as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and from 1849 to October, 1852, when he was succeeded by Cavour, Azeglio was prime minister of Sardinia. At the close of the Austrian war in 1859 he was appointed general and commissioner extraordinary for the Roman state. He died at Milan, January 15, 1866. Azeglio was a statesman of the noblest type, thoroughly devoted to the best interests of his country, and of the highest public and private integrity. His writings not already mentioned include "The Court of Rome and the Gospels;" "Political Correspondence" (1866); "My Recollections" (1867), an autobiography; "Letters to his Wife, Luisa Blondel" (1870); "Letters to Giuseppe Torelli" (1870); "Letters to Carlo di Persano" (1878); and "Letters to Emanuele d'Azeglio" (1883).

ON PRESENTING THE ESTIMATES FOR THE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

DELIVERED IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, TURIN, FEBRUARY 12, 1851

THE commencement of the general debate on the estimates for foreign affairs appears to me to be not only fitting but an advantageous opportunity for me to explain some notions and principles bearing on general politics

and upon diplomacy especially. They will not be either new or abstruse principles, for it would not be an easy task to say anything new on such a subject; but I will do my best to propound principles that shall be just and true.

In the times in which we live, I believe it to be sound policy, especially for a government, to establish the true principles on which human society and politics are based. Many persons think—I do not say that there are any such in this house—that political science is very abstruse and very complicated; to me it seems, on the contrary, that it is a very simple art and science, requiring much good faith, much good sense, and even some portion of shrewdness.

Political government founded on justice and good faith has always been the best, and in the long run the most useful. There was a time when much was said of statecraft. All those who have studied history, more especially Italian history and Italian politics, from the sixteenth century downward, will remember how often they have heard State policy talked of as a destiny, a necessity to which everything must yield, even morality.

I do not believe that there are two codes of morality, one for the governors and one for the governed. I do not hold that State policy requires a dispensation from common morality. There was however a time when a tortuous policy, a crafty policy could, at least for the moment, produce some good, and that was when public affairs were settled between a prince and a few ministers; often by a favorite or a mistress. But then the press was weak, the communications few, public opinion was unrepresented.

Yet even then a deceitful policy produced in the long run the very worst consequences. Revolutions, violent changes, evils of all kinds, to which mankind has been exposed, are

found to have mostly originated in bad faith—ancient injustice—iniquities which had too long enjoyed impunity. In our days the press, the various means of communication, the general spirit of inquiry, the liberty of speech, have rendered concealment and statecraft alike impossible.

In our days public opinion has a recognized form, not only in each country, but in the whole of Europe. If I touch public opinion at Turin it vibrates at Edinburgh and Moscow with the rapidity of an electric telegraph; and as concealment is thus out of the question a deceitful policy is equally impossible. However unjust, false, and treacherous individuals may be, they nevertheless trust only to the just and the straightforward; without trust man may tyrannize but not govern.

There is an obscure, I ought to say, terrible problem, which has undoubtedly forced itself on the attention of us all, and which we all have endeavored to solve. This problem is, What will be the future destiny of society? I do not consider myself more capable than others to solve it.

Yet I see but one solution of it. I know not what the future destiny of society may be, but I think that we may venture to affirm that society will find no rest except in an honest government, be its form what it may.

Looking at the primary causes of the decline and fall of empires we always find them, as I have observed a few moments ago, to be some injustice or iniquity of long standing. In modern times the stage is shorter and punishment falls on the head of the guilty with the velocity of steam. I am well aware that the theory of good faith in politics is laughed at by many as a folly. It is not so in this House: but as what I say will not be confined to these walls, there may be persons whom my enforcing the necessity of politi-

cal good faith may remind of the pastoral simplicity of a bucolic.

It does not require great talents or a rare genius for a man or a government, when harassed by truth, by justice, by equity, to avoid the inconvenience by having recourse to a falsehood, to violence, to illegality. No, no! it does not require great talent to act thus: I think, on the contrary, that the test of great ability is to teach us to know how much better it is to sacrifice an immediate advantage in order that we may enjoy the great future advantages which result from an honest and spotless name.

Ancient as well as modern history has hitherto taught us which of the two policies is the best, and this lesson we shall continue to learn as long as we live. Fully convinced of these truths the government has made them the rule of its policy both at home and abroad.

As to home politics, I beg to remind the House that when the present administration was formed, the country, struck by the magnitude of a recent misfortune, uncertain as to the future, agitated by parties, mistrusting them all, could only be settled by confidence and unanimity. The government has endeavored to win the former and to prepare the public mind for the latter. If the ministers have succeeded in this noble aim it is owing to Providence first, next to the good faith of the sovereign, to the prudence of Parliament, to the noble character of the whole nation; Piedmont is traditionally a land of probity and honor and by such virtues kingdoms are always saved.

Let us look about us and we shall find that the vigor and existence of a State has always been in a direct ratio with its morality. An immoral individual may exist—an immoral nation dies. Having established confidence and unanimity,

it was the duty of the government to seek for such improvements as were consistent with the letter and spirit of our constitution—it was its duty to solve the difficult problem of stability united to progress.

It was therefore bound to avoid and restrain extreme opinions. In this arduous undertaking the ministers were guided by justice and impartiality, and thus they hope to have fulfilled one of the highest if not the very highest of duties—that of setting a good example. To explain my meaning I beg to observe that in modern times we have heard a great deal about the rights of the people (something ought perhaps to have been said respecting the people's duties—but this is not the time to speak upon that subject); I have however never heard mentioned one of the rights of the people which seems to me second to none.

I will be the first to proclaim it: it is that a country has a right to a good example on the part of its government. This the ministry have endeavored to set as far as in them lay. All the disorders which befall society are generally the effect of illegalities under some form of injustice, of acts of bad faith. If a government will not be satisfied with what governments generally possess—physical force—but wishes to have the moral force requisite to overcome such disorders, its first care must be to set a good example.

I shall now say a few words on foreign affairs—a topic on which the House will at once perceive how requisite it is that I should exercise some reserve. I can and shall fearlessly say that the government has based its foreign, like its home policy, on justice and good faith.

Paramount to all others is independence, then come national honor and national dignity; and I can assure the House that in all his acts the minister for foreign affairs kept jus-

tice constantly in view. Our good faith we showed in keeping our word, and we shall ever continue to show it thus; for I cannot admit that a nation, any more than an individual, can ever be compelled to take an oath—death ought to be preferred to swearing that which is unjust or which it is felt cannot be observed; but an oath once taken must be kept.

By our following this course, Europe which (it cannot be denied) was prejudiced against us, has become satisfied that we were not a nation of anarchists, but that we desired and knew how to live free and independent. Confidence took the place of mistrust, contempt was changed into respect, and we now perceive that we enjoy throughout Europe the reputation of being an honest nation, entirely adverse to infringing the rights of others, but fully resolved to guard our own even to death.

Our foreign policy is founded on that which is adopted at home; the latter is the firmest support of the former, for there is no firmer support of a foreign policy than the reputation which a country enjoys.

I will now proceed to speak of our diplomacy. Whilst assuring the House that I did all in my power to cause our diplomatic body to follow the principles which I have just laid down, I must hasten to add that its members are too high-minded to be guided by any others. I shall here notice an attack often repeated out of doors, but of which I am not aware whether it will be re-echoed in this House. In party times suspicions are rife: we all know that many of our diplomatists were accused of aversion to the new institutions and to the present policy of the State.

I for one contend that a man of honor can acquiesce in a change of system legally introduced, although it may not be

entirely in accordance with his former opinions. The government endeavors, as it is bound, to heal dissensions. The process of elimination has at all times been a most delicate one.

I may here be allowed to quote the saying of an Italian historian who lived more than five hundred years ago, "Italy has too long been the land of factions and suspicions,"—I mean Dino Compagni. The House need not be reminded that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Bianchi were expelled from Florence, the successful party were seized with the mania which always seizes a triumphant faction,—the mania for elimination; to a certain extent weeding out is absolutely necessary, but this ought not be indulged in to such an extent as to become what I now designate a mania. There were among Dino's party, the Neri, men who were always discovering that some of their own friends—persons in office—were not pure Neri, and wherever they looked they found only persons of the other faction—pure Bianchi. The single-minded historian in his naïve style says, "These persons are unceasingly seeking for Bianchi, as if there were not abundance of them."

A placeman who opposes the government which employs him ought, in my opinion, to be removed; but before removing him, before coming to such extremities, a minister must carefully avoid listening to a party spirit only, instead of following what ought to be his only guide, truth and justice. Let me observe however that the government is responsible for its agents, and I fully and boldly answer for those whom I have the honor to direct. I shall add moreover that when the case has happened that I have felt myself called upon to dismiss a person from office, I have done it; as I shall always do whenever I may think it necessary

for the good of the country, but without being moved by partisanship.

And again, with respect to diplomacy, it is to be observed that for a small State it is much more important to employ distinguished agents than it is for a great power. A great power gives importance to its agent. A diplomatist supported by twenty, thirty, or forty millions of men, be his title ever so low or his person insignificant, is sure of being deferentially listened to, whilst the representative of a small power, to be well received and listened to, must command a certain degree of respect for his person, by his talents, his intellect, his knowledge, and even his means and social position. For this reason the government has especially endeavored to render our diplomacy respected by making a good selection of agents, and we flatter ourselves we have succeeded.

We endeavored to preserve for our diplomacy the distinguished position which it occupied a century ago when Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son: "Wherever you go, inquire after Piedmontese diplomats: they are always persons of distinguished merit."

The government will continue to make efforts in that direction. The instructions given to our agents when they enter upon their missions are to regard first the interests and dignity of their country, and next to support, as far as by the law of nations their duties and powers permit, the government to which they are accredited; to abstain from interfering with, still more from censuring it, or favoring intrigues against it; for there is no action more base and more mean than under the protection of the sacred character of foreign ministers to intrigue against those who receive you: but our diplomacy is, thank God, free from such stain.

I beg leave to add, as I had the honor of observing a little

while ago, that eminence of position is indispensable to the maintenance of diplomatic influence. The first rule in all human affairs is to take the world as it is, and to see what is the state of Europe and of European society; what are the means which lead to success or to failure, and in short not to be more Spartan than the rest of the world.

On this subject it might perhaps be necessary to descend to some particulars which might be considered almost beneath the attention of the House; but on the other hand if we are to transact public business I think we are bound also to come to particulars.

In the diplomacy of Piedmont, which, as I have had the honor of saying, does not represent a colossal power, the importance of which is little more than relative, if a minister be accredited to a country where the style of living is expensive he must necessarily keep on a level with others of his rank; and however much I may like simple living and however I may believe that all the world ought to like it, I do not think that he can live such a life, for if he live in a capital and receive attentions he must return them; he must place himself on a level with others, and to live in a capital is expensive.

I do not enter into particulars, but I wish the House to understand that the mere material, and mere social position of a diplomatic functionary may be a matter of grave importance for the manner in which he is accepted and received, for the influence that he has in society, and consequently for the success of the mission with which he is charged.

Here the question of economy naturally finds its place. We all know, and more than any one the government knows, the necessity of economy. We must all however be convinced,

and we see it every day in private life, that in public as well as in private while there are retrenchments which lead to spending less there are retrenchments which sometimes lead to spending more, and with reference to this point I will cite a proverb very common and almost trivial, which says, "He who spends more spends less," and this deserves particular attention.

There are countries in an exceptional position which require in proportion greater expenses than many others, and Piedmont is one of these. Its positive importance in point of geographical extent and population is not great, but it ought to be borne in mind that Piedmont must have appliances greater than its positive importance and proportionate to its relative importance, and diplomacy is one of them.

I wish that the opinion expressed by the honorable member for Caraglio were practicable, namely, that all diplomats should be sent about their business when I should lead the way; but it is useless to expend words in order to persuade the House that in our present situation we require more perhaps, in proportion than any other State, able agents in foreign countries. I think, therefore, that the House ought to reflect well as to any reduction on this head and consider that it is not always easy to judge of the fitting opportunity for it, if we be not fully aware of all the circumstances; for should it happen that our diplomatic agents be deficient, evils might arise which might give cause to regret retrenchments as extremely expensive.

There is an instance of it in Belgium, where as soon as it became an independent kingdom, great economy was practised in all branches of the public service, and among the rest, in the department for foreign affairs. Now, I know, and I can state it for certain, that the evil effect of this excessive

economy is now felt by the Belgian government, and I should not be surprised if they were after all obliged to retrace their steps. We must not disguise from ourselves that there are expenses which are unavoidable for carrying on the machinery of government.

There must be a limit to retrenchment; and when expenses cannot be brought as low as the regular revenue, then we must make up our minds to do that which we do and which we are obliged to do, that is to say, to increase the taxes.

If this be not done, a country like ours, whose situation is so exceptional, must submit to lose the importance which it possesses and which it ought to possess. There is another point to which I must direct the attention of the House. Many have complained that only persons of a certain class are employed in our foreign missions; but it should be known that diplomacy is not the road to wealth, but the reverse; and if we admit to it persons of insufficient property we must augment the salaries so that functionaries may live respectably; you cannot otherwise employ persons who have not ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand francs a year of their own.

In the regulation which I drew up for the examinations, in order that all those who deserve it might be admitted into the diplomatic career, I did not fix as a condition any amount of revenue, for such would indeed have appeared to me an illiberal and odious condition; but if the salaries be brought too low—if in fact one could enter the diplomatic career without private property—it would be necessary to make this one of the conditions for admissibility, and thus probably, or rather certainly, exclude from the public service all persons who, possessing all the requisite talent for doing good service to the State, happened not to possess the requisite private for-

tune. Be this as it may, the government has endeavored to make all possible retrenchments; some places were suppressed, others were occasionally not filled up; but what may be done at one time may not be always practicable at another, nor can a place be left vacant for a year because no inconvenience arose from its not being filled up for six months; the House knows enough of affairs to be aware that ministers cannot always carry out all the retrenchments which they wish.

I will add moreover that if the reputation of anybody, diplomatic or otherwise, be advanced by sound and really necessary retrenchments, it is injured in proportion by unreasonable and uncalled-for parsimony. At the present day the first requisite for a parliament, as for every other authority, is to be respected; for this end it is necessary that it show itself deserving respect by its wisdom, justice, and prudence.

The authority of governments, of assemblies, of all bodies, can no longer be maintained by force. It can only be maintained by their own bearing, by creating for themselves a reputation not only for honesty but for prudence and wisdom.

The events which pass around us inform us no less than the history of the past how assemblies and moral institutions decline whenever they have neglected their own good name and made no effort to establish themselves on the real basis of assemblies, public opinion. I certainly shall not be one of those who maintain that public opinion is infallible, but I do think that there is no government, no authority, no assembly which will not find the necessity of striking root in public approbation.

It occurs to me that this may be the proper place for saying a few words respecting official salaries. My remarks will be very general; I do not purpose to descend to particulars,

but rather to establish maxims and principles, to submit my sentiments unreservedly to the judgment of the House. I think that some salaries may be too high.

We have seen them gradually lowered throughout all Europe, but I believe I may adopt as the basis of my remarks that there is no country in which all the departments, whether civil, military, judicial, or instructive, are remunerated on so low a scale as in Piedmont.

Great retrenchment has been effected in other countries; we have seen it in France in our own day; but this retrenchment has been made in large salaries. I doubt if the same thing would be practicable in Piedmont. It must also be adopted as an element in this question, that official persons enjoy posts, legally acquired, upon which they have made their calculations, and not only they, but their families and other persons; and these places must not be touched without great thought and consideration.

I will suppose for the moment that such places constitute an injustice; I will even suppose that these persons enjoy unjustly the public money; but I beg to observe also that there are two ways of repairing an injustice, a just and an unjust way. I will explain my meaning by an example.

Is there any injustice in the world more flagrant than that of civil slavery? I ask if there be any excuse for man seizing his fellow man, making him toil for him, selling him, doing with him as he will. It appears to me that it is not possible to conceive a greater injustice in the world than this.

I see however that with respect to the English colonies, when the abolition of slavery was discussed the English government did not say that which at the time I thought it ought to have said. I reasoned thus: This is an injustice; if this man be the slave of another, free him, and carry your thoughts

no further. The English government on the contrary said: These men who had slaves acquired them under laws which gave them a right so to do; certain interests are annexed to this their right of property; if the proprietors be deprived of these interests they will not be the only sufferers; their children and many other innocent persons will also suffer.

The English government did this; it repaired the injustice, but it granted compensation to the owners. It certainly is an unjust thing to give compensation to a man in order that he may no longer hold his fellow man in slavery; but the English government did so. And if the English government be powerful, it is because it enjoys with all nations a high reputation for prudence, for wisdom, for justice, and knows well how to maintain it.

Now the conclusion I arrive at is this, that I think a reduction may be made in new posts, but that what is proposed with respect to ancient offices is unjust. I will take the liberty to submit to the Chamber my ideas respecting ancient offices. I am of opinion that all interests should be respected, for, as I have just had the honor to observe, we may sometimes be guilty of an injustice even while correcting that which is unjust; and on the other hand it appears to me that we cannot by any means say that the legally acquired places of official personages constitute an injustice.

I will now say a few words respecting consulships. The changes which have taken place in the maritime and commercial laws of nations the most devoted to commerce will open new channels for the development of commercial enterprise. The English colonies alone have contributed one hundred and fifty millions of consumers to the commerce of the world.

It therefore became the duty of the government to negoti-

ate treaties in order that this country might derive advantage from the great advance of commercial freedom—a freedom which yields to none in beauty—which restores the great maxim, payment according to the real and not the artificial price of a production: the natural consequence of which is that the goods of life are shared by all and not monopolized by a few. With this object in view the government has established some new consulships at Stettin, on the mouth of the Oder, at Dantzic, at San Salvador, at Madras, at Guayaquil, at California, etc.

The government has made some retrenchment by an alteration of the system for the consulships of Rome, Lyons, Naples, Geneva, and Lisbon; it has effected a saving in those of Algiers, Tripoli, Valparaiso, and Belgrade. I must however tell the House that this great commercial change which is operating throughout the world renders it the interest of this country, and consequently the duty of the government, to increase rather than to diminish the consulships. It has always been one of the first objects with States really commercial to have numerous and able consuls.

The free city of Hamburg, which cannot be compared for extent with our own State, possesses a system of consulships equal to that of the greatest powers. This is a necessity, involved in the new development of commerce, to which the government will pay attention, and we look with confidence for the approbation and, if needed, the support of the House. One word more before concluding these short remarks. There have been, and it may be there are still, those who accuse the government of having done little or nothing.

Our reply is that we have done all that lay within the scope of our power and our ability for the good of the country. Before sitting down I may be allowed to quote the an-

swer of one who met a friend a few days after the reign of terror under Robespierre had come to an end. All know that at that period many had concealed themselves; when that system terminated two persons met and one asked the other, "What have you done during this time?" The other replied, "I have lived, and that is something." And in like manner we may say, "We have lived, and if it so please God we will continue to live, and we will live free, independent, respected."

IVERSON

ALFRED IVERSON, an American politician, was born in Burke County, Georgia, December 3, 1798, and was educated at Princeton College. He studied law and subsequently practised his profession at Columbus in his native State. He sat several times in the Georgia legislature and was one of the presidential electors in 1844. In 1847 he went to Congress as a Democratic representative, and in 1855 passed from the House into the Senate, where for a number of years he was chairman of the committee on claims. Iverson was a leader of the secession movement, declaring in Congress on one occasion that the South never would accept any concession made to it that did not fully recognize, not only the existence of slavery in its present form, but also the right of the Southern people to emigrate to the common Territories with their slave property, and their right to Congressional protection while the Territorial existence lasted. With his colleague, Toombs, he withdrew from Congress after the passage of the secession ordinance by Georgia in January, 1861. After the opening of the Civil War Iverson entered the Confederate army at the head of a regiment raised by him, and in 1862 was commissioned brigadier-general. His death occurred at Macon, Georgia, March 4, 1873.

SPEECH ON SECESSION

DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, DECEMBER 5, 1860

I DO not rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of entering at any length into this discussion or to defend the President's message, which has been attacked by the senator from New Hampshire. I am not the mouthpiece of the President. While I do not agree with some portions of the message, and some of the positions that have been taken by the President, I do not perceive all the inconsistencies in that document which the senator from New Hampshire has thought proper to present.

It is true that the President denies the constitutional right of a State to secede from the Union; while, at the same time, he also states that this federal government has no constitu-

tional right to enforce or to coerce a State back into the Union which may take upon itself the responsibility of secession. I do not see any inconsistency in that. The President may be right when he asserts the fact that no State has a constitutional right to secede from the Union. I do not myself place the right of a State to secede from the Union upon constitutional grounds. I admit that the constitution has not granted that power to a State. It is exceedingly doubtful even whether the right has been reserved. Certainly it has not been reserved in express terms. I therefore do not place the expected action of any of the southern States, in the present contingency, upon the constitutional right of secession; and I am not prepared to dispute, therefore, the position which the President has taken upon that point.

I rather agree with the President that the secession of a State is an act of revolution taken through that particular means or by that particular measure. It withdraws from the federal compact, disclaims any further allegiance to it, and sets itself up as a separate government, an independent State. The State does it at its peril, of course, because it may or may not be the cause of war by the remaining States composing the federal government. If they think proper to consider it such an act of disobedience, or if they consider that the policy of the federal government be such that it cannot submit to this dismemberment, why then they may or may not make war if they choose upon the seceding State. It will be a question of course for the federal government or the remaining States to decide for themselves, whether they will permit a State to go out of the Union, and remain as a separate and independent State, or whether they will attempt to force her back at the point of the bayonet. That is a question, I presume, of policy and expediency, which will be con-

sidered by the remaining States composing the federal government, through their organ, the federal government, whenever the contingency arises.

But, sir, while a State has no power under the constitution conferred upon it to secede from the federal government or from the Union, each State has the right of revolution, which all admit. Whenever the burdens of the government under which it acts become so onerous that it cannot bear them, or if anticipated evil shall be so great that the State believes it would be better off—even risking the perils of secession—out of the Union than in it, then that State, in my opinion, like all people upon earth has the right to exercise the great fundamental principle of self-preservation and go out of the Union —though, of course, at its own peril—and bear the risk of the consequences. And while no State may have the constitutional right to secede from the Union, the President may not be wrong when he says the federal government has no power under the constitution to compel the State to come back into the Union. It may be a *casus omissus* in the constitution; but I should like to know where the power exists in the constitution of the United States to authorize the federal government to coerce a sovereign State. It does not exist in terms, at any rate, in the constitution. I do not think there is any inconsistency therefore between the two positions of the President in the message upon these particular points.

The only fault I have to find with the message of the President is the inconsistency of another portion. He declares that, as the States have no power to secede, the federal government is in fact a consolidated government; that it is not a voluntary association of States. I deny it. It was a voluntary association of States. No State was ever forced

to come into the federal Union. Every State came voluntarily into it. It was an association, a voluntary association of States; and the President's position that it is not a voluntary association is, in my opinion, altogether wrong.

But whether that be so or not, the President declares and assumes that this government is a consolidated government to this extent: that all the laws of the federal government are to operate directly upon each individual of the States, if not upon the States themselves, and must be enforced; and yet at the same time he says that the State which secedes is not to be coerced. He says that the laws of the United States must be enforced against every individual of a State.

Of course, the State is composed of individuals within its limits, and if you enforce the laws and obligations of the federal government against each and every individual of the State you enforce them against a State. While, therefore, he says that a State is not to be coerced, he declares, in the same breath, his determination to enforce the laws of the Union, and therefore to coerce the State if a State goes out. There is the inconsistency, according to my idea, which I do not see how the President or anybody else can reconcile. That the federal government is to enforce its laws over the seceding State, and yet not coerce her into obedience, is to me incomprehensible.

But I did not rise, Mr. President, to discuss these questions in relation to the message; I rose in behalf of the State that I represent, as well as other southern States that are engaged in this movement, to accept the issue which the senator from New Hampshire has seen fit to tender—that is, of war. Sir, the southern States now moving in this matter are not doing it without due consideration. We have looked over the whole field. We believe that the only security for the insti-

tution to which we attach so much importance is secession and a southern confederacy. We are satisfied, notwithstanding the disclaimers upon the part of the Black Republicans to the contrary, that they intend to use the federal power when they get possession of it to put down and extinguish the institution of slavery in the southern States. I do not intend to enter upon the discussion of that point. That, however, is my opinion. It is the opinion of a large majority of those with whom I associate at home and I believe of the Southern people. Believing that this is the intention and object, the ultimate aim and design, of the Republican party, the Abolitionists of the North, we do not intend to stay in this Union until we shall become so weak that we shall not be able to resist when the time comes for resistance. Our true policy is the one which we have made up our minds to follow. Our true policy is to go out of this Union now, while we have strength to resist any attempt on the part of the federal government to coerce us.

I can tell the senator from New Hampshire, as well as all of his friends, when they talk about South Carolina going out, that she is not the only State that is going out. Her destiny is beyond doubt fixed. She is determined, in the graphic language of her distinguished senator, not here today [Mr. Hammond], to go out high, dry, and forever; and there are other States that intend to follow her example. So far as my own State is concerned, she is the last one in the series of those who have ordered conventions to act upon the subject; but although she is the last one of the five States whose decision will be made I have the confidence to assert here upon this floor that she will not be behind her sisters in the boldness, decision, and firmness of her action.

I am satisfied that South Carolina will resolve herself into

a separate, sovereign, and independent State before the Ides of January; that Florida and Mississippi, whose conventions are soon to meet, will follow the example of South Carolina; and that Alabama,—proud daughter of my own State,—actuated by a patriotism and pride, will follow this noble example which South Carolina will set to her sisters and will go out of the Union on the 7th of January. Then the Georgia convention follows on the 16th of that month; and if these other surrounding sisters shall take the step, Georgia will not be behind; and, sir, before the 4th of March—before you inaugurate your President—there will be certainly five States, if not eight of them, that will be out of the Union and have formed a constitution and frame of government for themselves.

As the senator from New Hampshire very properly remarked, it is time to look this thing in the face. The time is rolling rapidly to the consummation of these great objects; and in my opinion there is nothing this side of heaven that can prevent their consummation. You talk about concessions. You talk about repealing the personal liberty bills as a concession to the South. Repeal them all to-morrow, sir, and it would not stop the progress of this revolution. It is not your personal liberty bills that we dread. Those personal liberty bills are obnoxious to us, not on account of their practical operation, not because they prevent us from reclaiming our fugitive slaves, but as an evidence of that deep-seated, widespread hostility to our institutions, which must sooner or later end, in this Union, in their extinction. That is the reason we object to your personal liberty bills. It is not because that in their practical operation they ever do any harm. But, sir, if all the liberty bills were repealed to-day the South would no more gain her fugitive slaves than if they were

in existence. It is not the personal liberty laws; it is mob laws that we fear. It is the existence and action of the public sentiment of the northern States that are opposed to this institution of slavery and are determined to break it down—to use all the power of the federal government as well as every other power in their hands to bring about its ultimate and speedy extinction. That is what we apprehend and what in part moves us to look for security and protection in secession and a southern confederacy.

Nor do we suppose that there will be any overt acts upon the part of Mr. Lincoln. For one, I do not dread these overt acts. I do not propose to wait for them. Why, sir, the power of this federal government could be so exercised against the institution of slavery in the southern States that, without an overt act, the institution would not last ten years. We know that, sir; and seeing the storm which is approaching, although it may be seemingly in the distance, we are determined to seek our own safety and security before it shall burst upon us and overwhelm us with its fury when we are not in a situation to defend ourselves.

Now, sir, we intend to go out of this Union. I speak what I believe upon this floor, that, before the 4th of March, five of the southern States at least will have declared their independence; and I am satisfied that three others of the cotton States will follow as soon as the action of the people can be had. Arkansas, whose legislature is now in session, will in all probability call a convention at an early day. Louisiana will follow. Her legislature is to meet; and although there is a clog in the way of the Lone-Star State of Texas in the person of her governor, who will not consent to call her legislature together and give the people of that State an opportunity to act, yet the public sentiment in that State is so

decided in favor of this movement that even the governor will be overridden; and if he does not yield to public sentiment some Texan Brutus will arise to rid his country of the hoary-headed incubus that stands between the people and their sovereign will.

We intend, Mr. President, to go out peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must; but I do not believe, with the senator from New Hampshire, that there is going to be any war. If five or eight States go out they will necessarily draw all the other southern States after them. That is a consequence that nothing can prevent. If five or eight States go out of this Union I should like to see the man that would propose a declaration of war against them, or attempt to force them into obedience to the federal government at the point of the bayonet or the sword.

Sir, there has been a good deal of vaporing on this subject. A great many threats have been thrown out. I have heard them on this floor, and upon the floor of the other House of Congress; but I have also perceived this: they come from those who would be the very last men to attempt to put their threats into execution. Men talk sometimes about their eighteen million who are to whip us; and yet we have heard of cases in which just such men had suffered themselves to be switched in the face and trembled like sheep-stealing dogs, expecting to be shot every minute. These threats generally come from men who would be the last to execute them. Some of these northern editors talk about whipping the Southern States like spaniels. Brave words; but I venture to assert none of those men would ever volunteer to command an army to be sent down south to coerce us into obedience to federal power.

But, sir, there is to be no war. The northern States are controlled by sagacious men like the distinguished senator

from New York [Mr. Seward]. Where public opinion and action are thus controlled by men of common sense, who know well that they cannot succeed in a war against the southern States, no such attempt of coercion will be made. If one State alone was to go out, unsustained by her surrounding sister States, possibly war might ensue, and there might be an attempt made to coerce her, and that would give rise to civil war; but, sir, South Carolina is not to go out alone. In my opinion she will be sustained by all her southern sisters. They may not all go out immediately; but they will in the end join South Carolina in this important movement; and we shall, in the next twelve months, have a confederacy of the southern States, and a government inaugurated, and in successful operation, which in my opinion will be a government of the greatest prosperity and power that the world has ever seen. There will be no war in my opinion. Such an effort would be fruitless and men of sense know it.

There are but two instances in modern history in which a nation has been overcome by a foreign power. Hungary, with only eight million, was conquered by Austria, but it required the aid of the colossal power of Russia. Even then she would not have been conquered but for the treachery of one of her own sons. Mexico was conquered by the United States; but Mexico is a feeble nation, and her councils were distracted and her energies weakened by divisions among her people.

But, sir, the fifteen slave States, or even the five of them now moving, banded together in one government and united as they are soon to be, would defy the world in arms, much less the northern States of this confederacy. Fighting on our own soil, in defence of our own sacred rights and honor, we could not be conquered even by the combined forces of

all the other States; and sagacious, sensible men in the northern States would understand that too well to make the effort.

Besides, what would they gain if they conquered us? Would it be a union worth preserving which is maintained by force? No, sir. Like the President of the United States, no sensible man, no patriot, no one who is guided by proper counsels, will ever urge the policy of making war to bring back the seceding States at the point of the bayonet into the Union. I do not apprehend any war. But if the northern States or the federal government controlled by the counsels of the northern States shall attempt to coerce us, then war will come; and like the senator from New Hampshire, if he wants war, I say here to-day we are ready for it. We intend to prepare for war. We do not believe that war will ensue, but we are determined to prepare for it. A wise man will always prepare for any danger or contingency that may arise; and we are preparing for it. We will be prepared when the time comes. We will fight for our liberties, our rights, and our honor; and we are not a feeble race of Mexicans, either. I do not believe we shall have any treachery as Hungary had in her war with Austria and Russia. I believe we shall have a united people. United, as we shall be, in interest and in all that we hold dear, we do not dread war, except so far as the terrible consequences which always follow armed collisions. We know how much distress it brings.

But, sir, I apprehend that when we go out and form our confederacy—as I think and hope we shall do very shortly—the northern States or the federal government will see its true policy to be to let us go in peace and make treaties of commerce and amity with us, from which they will derive more advantages than from any attempt to coerce us. They cannot succeed in coercing us. If they allow us to form our

government without difficulty we shall be very willing to look upon them as a favored nation and give them all the advantages of commercial and amicable treaties. I have no doubt that both of us—certainly the southern States—would live better, more happily, more prosperously, and with greater friendship than we live now in this Union.

Sir, disguise the fact as you will, there is an enmity between the Northern and Southern people that is deep and enduring, and you never can eradicate it—never! Look at the spectacle exhibited on this floor. How is it? There are the Republican Northern senators upon that side. Here are the Southern senators on this side. How much social intercourse is there between us? You sit upon your side, silent and gloomy; we sit upon ours with knit brows and portentous scowls. Yesterday I observed that there was not a solitary man on that side of the chamber came over here even to extend the civilities and courtesies of life; nor did any of us go over there. Here are two hostile bodies on this floor; and it is but a type of the feeling that exists between the two sections. We are enemies as much as if we were hostile States. I believe that the Northern people hate the South worse than ever the English people hated France; and I can tell my brethren over there that there is no love lost upon the part of the South.

In this state of feeling, divided as we are by interest, by a geographical feeling, by everything that makes two people separate and distinct, I ask why we should remain in the same Union together? We have not lived in peace; we are not now living in peace. It is not expected or hoped that we shall ever live in peace. My doctrine is that whenever even man and wife find that they must quarrel and cannot live in peace they ought to separate; and these two sections—the North and South—manifesting, as they have done and do

now and probably will ever manifest, feelings of hostility, separated as they are in interests and objects, my own opinion is they can never live in peace; and the sooner they separate the better.

Sir, these sentiments I have thrown out crudely I confess, and upon the spur of the occasion. I should not have opened my mouth but that the senator from New Hampshire seemed to show a spirit of bravado, as if he intended to alarm and scare the southern States into a retreat from their movements. He says that war is to come and you had better take care, therefore. That is the purport of his language; of course those are not his words; but I understand him very well and everybody else, I apprehend, understands him that war is threatened and therefore the South had better look out. Sir, I do not believe that there will be any war; but if war is to come, let it come. We will meet the senator from New Hampshire and all the myrmidons of abolitionism and black republicanism everywhere, upon our own soil; and in the language of a distinguished member from Ohio in relation to the Mexican war, we will "welcome you with bloody hands to hospitable graves."

RUFUS CHOATE

RUFUS CHOATE was born in Essex County, Massachusetts, in 1799. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1819, was admitted to the bar in 1823, and, next to Daniel Webster, reached the highest place in the profession attained by any contemporary lawyer in New England. He was sent to Congress as a representative of Massachusetts in 1830, and re-elected two years later. When Daniel Webster became Secretary of State in Harrison's Cabinet, Choate took Webster's place in the Senate, and retained it until 1845. He died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1859.

BOOKS AND CIVILIZATION IN AMERICA

FROM A SPEECH ON THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE

IT IS easy to waste this money; it is easy to squander it in jobs, salaries, quackeries; it is easy, even under the forms of utility, to disperse and dissipate it in little rills and drops, imperceptible to all human sense, carrying it off by an insensible and ineffectual evaporation. But, sir, I take it that we all earnestly desire—I am sure the Senator from Ohio does desire—so to dispense it as to make it tell. I am sure we all desire to see it, instead of being carried off invisibly and wastefully, embody itself as an exponent of civilization, permanent, palpable, conspicuous, useful. And to this end it has seemed to me, upon the most nature reflection, that we cannot do a safer, surer, more unexceptional thing with the income, or with a portion of the income, perhaps twenty thousand dollars a year for a few years, than to expend it in accumulating a grand and

noble public library—one which for variety, extent, and wealth shall be, and be confessed to be, equal to any now in the world.

I say for a few years. Twenty thousand dollars a year, for twenty-five years, are five hundred thousand dollars; and five hundred thousand dollars discreetly expended, not by a bibliomaniac, but by a man of sense and reading thoroughly instructed in bibliography, would go far, very far, toward the purchase of nearly as good a library as Europe can boast. I mean a library of printed books, as distinct from manuscripts. Of course, such a sum would not purchase the number of books which some old libraries are reported to contain. It would not buy the 700,000 of the Royal Library at Paris, the largest in the world; nor the 500,000 or 600,000 of that of Munich, the largest in Germany; nor the 300,000 or 400,000 or 500,000 of those of Vienna and St. Petersburg, and the Vatican at Rome, and Copenhagen, and the Bodleian at Oxford. But mere numbers of volumes afford a very imperfect criterion of value. Those old libraries have been so long in collecting; accident and donation, which could not be rejected, have contributed so much to them; a general and indiscriminate system of accumulation gathers up, necessarily, so much trash; there are so many duplicates and quadruplicates, and so many books and editions, which become superseded, that mere bulk and mere original cost must not terrify us. *Ponderantur, non numerantur.* Accordingly the Library of the University of Göttingen, consisting perhaps of two hundred and fifty thousand or three hundred thousand volumes, but well chosen, selected, for the most part, within a century, and to a considerable extent by a single great scholar, Heyne, is perhaps to-day as valuable a collection of printed

books as any in the world. Toward the accumulation of such a library, the expenditure of two-thirds of this income for a quarter of a century would make, let me say, a magnificent advance. And such a step taken, we should never have the work unfinished; yet when it should be finished, and your library should rival anything which civilization has ever had to show, there would still be the whole principal of your fund unexpended, yielding its income forever, for new and varying applications for increasing and diffusing knowledge in the world.

I hesitate, from an apprehension of being accused of entering too far into a kind of dissertation unsuited to this assembly of men of business, to suggest and press one-half the considerations which satisfy my mind of the propriety of this mode of expenditure. Nobody can doubt, I think, that it comes within the terms and spirit of the trust. That directs us to "increase and diffuse knowledge among men." And do not the judgments of all the wise; does not the experience of all enlightened States; does not the whole history of civilization, concur to declare that a various and ample library is one of the surest, most constant, most permanent, and most economical instrumentalities to increase and diffuse knowledge? There it would be—durable as liberty, durable as the Union; a vast storehouse, a vast treasury of all the facts which make up the history of man and of nature, so far as that history has been written; of all the truths which the inquiries and experiences of all the races and ages have found out; of all the opinions that have been promulgated; of all the emotions, images, sentiments, examples from all the richest and most instructive literatures; the whole past speaking to the present and the future; a silent, yet wise and eloquent teacher; dead, yet

speaking—not dead! for Milton has told us that a "good book is not absolutely a dead thing—the precious lifeblood rather of a master spirit; a seasoned life of man embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." Is not that an admirable instrumentality to increase and diffuse knowledge among men? It would place within the reach of our mind, of our thinkers, and investigators, and scholars, all, or the chief intellectual and literary materials, and food and instruments, now within the reach of the cultivated foreign mind, and the effect would be to increase the amount of individual acquisition, and multiply the number of the learned. It would raise the standard of our scholarship, improve our style of investigation, and communicate an impulse to our educated and to the general mind. There is no library now in this country, I suppose, containing over fifty thousand volumes. Many there are containing less. But, from the nature of the case, all have the same works; so that I do not know, that of all the printed books in the world we have in this country more than fifty thousand different works. The consequence has been felt and lamented by all our authors and all our scholars. It has been often said that Gibbon's "History" could not have been written here for want of books. I suppose that Hallam's "Middle Ages," and his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," could not. Irving's "Columbus" was written in Spain; Wheaton's "Northmen" prepared to be written in Copenhagen. See how this inadequate supply operates. An American mind kindles with a subject; it enters on an investigation with a spirit and with an ability worthy of the most splendid achievement; goes a little way, finds that a dozen books—one book, perhaps—are indispensable, which cannot be found this side of Göttingen or Ox-

ford; it tires of the pursuit, or abandons it altogether, or substitutes some shallow conjecture for a deep and accurate research. And there is the end!

Now there are very many among us, and every day we shall have more, who would feelingly adopt this language. Place within their reach the helps that guide the genius and labors of Germany and England and let the genius and labors of Germany and England look to themselves! Our learned men would grow more learned and more able; our studies deeper and wider; our mind itself exercised and sharpened; the whole culture of the community raised and enriched. This is, indeed, to increase and diffuse knowledge among men.

If the terms of the trust, then, authorize this expenditure, why not make it? Not among the principal, nor yet the least of reasons for doing so, is, that all the while you are laying out your money, and when you have laid it out, you have the money's worth, the value received, the property purchased, on hand, to show for itself and to speak for itself. Suppose the professors provided for in the bill should gather a little circle of pupils, each of whom should carry off with him some small quotient of navigation or horticulture, or rural economy, and the fund should thus glide away and evaporate in such insensible, inappreciable appropriations, how little there would be to testify of it! Whereas here, all the while, are the books; here is the value; here is the visible property; here is the oil, and here is the light. There is something to point to, if you should be asked to account for it unexpectedly; and something to point to, if a traveller should taunt you with the collections which he has seen abroad, and which gild and recommend the absolutisms of Vienna or St. Petersburg.

Another reason, not of the strongest, to be sure, for this mode of expenditure, is that it creates so few jobs and sinecures, so little salaried laziness. There is no room for abuses in it. All that you need is a plain, spacious, fireproof building, a librarian and assistants, an agent to buy your books, and a fire to sit by. For all the rest, he who wants to read goes and ministers to himself. It is an application of money that almost excludes the chances of abuses altogether.

But the decisive argument is, after all, that it is an application the most exactly adapted to the actual literary and scientific wants of the States and the country. I have said that another college is not needed here, because there are enough now, and another might do as much harm as good. But that which is wanted for every college, for the whole country, for every studious person, is a well-chosen library, somewhere among us, of three or four hundred thousand books. Where is such a one to be collected? How is it to be done? Who is to do it? Of the hundred and fifty colleges, more or less, distributed over the country, one has a library of perhaps fifty thousand volumes; others have good ones, though less; others smaller and smaller, down to scarcely anything. With one voice they unite, teacher and pupil, with every scholar and thinker, in proclaiming the want of more. But where are they to come from? No State is likely to lay a tax to create a college library, or a city library. No deathbed gift of the rich can be expected to do it. How, then, is this one grand want of learning to be relieved? It can be done by you and by you only. By a providential occurrence, it is not only placed within your constitutional power, but it has become your duty; you have pledged your faith; you have engaged to the dead

and living that, without the charge of one dollar on the people, you will meet the universal and urgent demand by the precise and adequate supply. By such a library as you can collect here, something will be done, much will be done, to help every college, every school, every studious man, every writer and thinker in the country to just what is wanted most. Inquirers after truth may come here and search for it. It will do them no harm at all to pass a few studious weeks among these scenes. Having pushed their investigations as far as they may at home, and ascertained just what, and how much more, of helps they require, let them come hither and find it. Let them replenish themselves, and then go back and make distribution among the people! Let it be so that—

> "Hither as to their fountains other stars
> Repairing, in their golden urns, draw light."

I have no objection at all—I should rejoice rather—to see the literary representatives of an instructed people come hither, not merely for the larger legislation and jurisprudence, but for the rarer and higher knowledge. I am quite willing, not only that our "Amphictyonic Council" should sit here, but that it should find itself among some such scenes and influences as surrounded that old renowned assembly; the fountain of purer waters than those of Castalia; the temple and the oracle of our Apollo! It will do good to have your educated men come to Washington for what has heretofore cost voyages to Germany. They will be of all parts of the country. They will become acquainted with each other. They will contract friendships and mutual regards. They will go away not only better scholars, but better Unionists. Some one has said that a great library

molds all minds into one Republic. It might, in a sense of which he little dreamed, help to keep ours together.

I have intimated, Mr. President, a doubt whether a college or university of any description, even the highest, should be at present established here. But let it be considered by the enlightened friends of that object, if such there are, that even if your single purpose were to create such a university, you could possibly begin in no way so judiciously as by collecting a great library. Useful in the other modes which I have indicated, to a university it is everything. It is as needful as the soul to the body. While you are doubting, then, what to do, what you will have, you can do nothing so properly as to begin to be accumulating the books which you will require on whatever permanent plan of application you at last determine.

I do not expect to hear it said in this assembly that this expenditure for a library will benefit a few only, not the mass; that it is exclusive, and of the nature of monopoly. It is to be remembered that this fund is a gift; that we take it just as it is given; and that by its terms it must be disbursed here. Any possible administration of it, therefore, is exposed to the cavil that all cannot directly, and literally, and equally partake of it. How many and of what classes of youth from Louisiana, or Illinois, or New England, for example, can attend the lectures of your professor of astronomy? But I say it is a positive and important argument for the mode of application which I urge, that it is so diffusive. Think of the large absolute numbers of those who, in the succession of years will come and partake directly of these stores of truth and knowledge! Think of the numbers without number who, through them, who by them indirectly, will partake of the same stores! Studious

men will come to learn to speak and write to and for the growing millions of a generally educated community. They will learn that they may communicate. They cannot hoard if they would, and they would not if they could. They take in trust to distribute; and every motive of ambition, of interest, of duty, will compel them to distribute. They buy in gross, to sell by retail. The lights which they kindle here will not be set under a bushel, but will burn on a thousand hills. No, sir; a rich and public library is no anti-republican monopoly. Who was the old Egyptian king who inscribed on his library the words, "The dispensary of the soul"? You might quite as well inscribe on it, "Armory and light and fountain of liberty!"

It may possibly be inquired what account I make of the library of Congress. I answer, that I think it already quite good and improving, but that its existence constitutes no sort of argument against the formation of such a one as I recommend. In the theory of it, that library is merely to furnish Congress and the government with the means of doing their official business. In its theory it must be, in some sort, a professional library, and the expenditure we now make—five thousand dollars in a year, or, as last year, two thousand and five hundred—can never carry it up to the rank and enable it to fulfil the functions of a truly great and general public library of science, literature, and art. The value of books which could be added under the appropriations of the last year cannot greatly exceed twenty-one hundred dollars. Doubtless, however, in the course of forming the two, it would be expedient and inevitable to procure to a great extent different books for each.

I do not think, Mr. President, that I am more inclined than another to covet enviously anything which the older

civilization of Europe possesses which we do not. I do not suppose that I desire, any more than you, or than any of you, to introduce here those vast inequalities of fortune, that elaborate luxury, that fantastic and extreme refinement. But I acknowledge a pang of envy and grief that there should be one drop or one morsel more of the bread of intellectual life tasted by the European than by the American mind. Why should not the soul of this country eat as good food and as much of it as the soul of Europe? Why should a German or an Englishman sit down to a repast of five hundred thousand books, and an American scholar who loves truth as well as he be put on something less than half allowance? Can we not trust ourselves with so much of so good a thing? Will our digestion be impaired by it? Are we afraid that the stimulated and fervid faculties of this young nation will be oppressed and overlaid? Because we have liberty which other nations have not, shall we reject the knowledge which they have, and which we have not? Or will you not rather say, that, because we are free, therefore will we add to our freedom that deep learning and that diffused culture which are its grace and its defence?

THE NECESSITY OF COMPROMISES IN AMERICAN POLITICS[1]

YOU see, sir, the nature and the effect of the proposed amendment. If it is adopted, instead of arming the corporation with the power of setting up branches all over the States, each possessing and exercising all the functions of a perfect bank, you empower it to do so only with the assent of the States. In the meantime, however, independently of, and prior to, any such assent, and even against their expressed dissent, if dissent they should happen to express, you empower it, by means of agencies distributed throughout the country, to perform everywhere all the business which a bank can perform, except to discount. That business, the loaning of money on local paper, itself in great measure a local and domestic one, and of inferior policy, it may not perform but with the consent of the States, within whose limits, for the benefit of whose inhabitants, and side by side with whose local banks, it is to be carried on. This is the whole of the amendment. The bill of the committee authorizes the bank to engross the local discount business of the States without their consent; the bill as amended authorizes it to do all things else which a bank can do: to deal in exchange; to issue a currency of its own notes; and to do all things else without

[1] On Friday, July 2, 1841, the Senate having under consideration the amendment proposed by Mr. Rives of Virginia to the Fiscal Bank Bill, Mr. Choate spoke on the necessity for compromises illustrating the governing theory of the first half century of national politics. The argument on the bill itself is here omitted.

their consent; but this one single power it permits to be exerted only on their application. It simply restores in this important feature the project furnished on our call by the Secretary of the Treasury, and which comes to us as an administration measure.

Now, sir, I do not vote for it from any doubt on the constitutional power of Congress to establish branches all over the States, possessing the discounting function, directly and adversely against their united dissent. I differ in this particular wholly with the Senator who moves the amendment. I have no more doubt of your power to make such a bank and such branches anywhere than of your power to build a post-office or a custom-house anywhere. This question, for me, is settled, and settled rightly. I have the honor and happiness to concur on it with all, or almost all, our greatest names: with our national judicial tribunal and with both the two great original political parties; with Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, Story, Madison, Monroe, Crawford, and with the entire Republican administration and organization of 1816 and 1817.

But it does not follow, because we possess this or any other power, that it is wise or needful, in a given case, to attempt to exert it. We may find ourselves so situated that we cannot do it if we would, for want of the concurrence of other judgments; and therefore a struggle might be as unavailing as it would be mischievous and unseemly. We may find ourselves so situated that we ought not to do it if we could. All things which are lawful are not convenient, are not practicable, are not wise, are not safe, are not kind. A sound and healing discretion, therefore, the moral coercion of irresistible circumstances, may fitly temper, and even wholly restrain, the exercise of the clearest power

ever belonging to human government. Is not this your actual situation? . . .

Now I think the people ought not to be made to wait for the relief they have a right to demand. They ought not to be made to suffer while we argue one another out of the recorded and inveterate opinions of our whole lives. I say, therefore, for myself, that, anxious to afford them all the relief which they require, regretting that the state of opinion around me puts it out of my power to afford that relief in the form I might prefer, I accommodate myself to my position, and make haste to do all that I can by the shortest way that I can. Consider how much better it is to relieve them to some substantial extent by this means, at once, than not to relieve at all, than not to initiate a system or measure of relief at all, and then go home at the end of this session of Congress, weak and weary, and spend the autumn in trying to persuade them that it was the fault of some of our own friends that nothing was done. How poor a compensation for wrongs to the people will be the victories over our friends!

I am going now to give another reason for my vote, which you may say is scarcely suitable to the dignity of this place, on which I do not mean to dwell for a moment, but which the manliness of Senators will excuse my suggesting; and that is, that the adoption of the amendment will not only soonest effect the grand object of public relief, but will preserve the harmony and unity of the ascendant political party. Do not suppose I shall dwell for a moment on such a topic. I owe you, I owe especially the wakeful and powerful minority by which we are observed here, an apology for speaking of it. I address myself to the majority. You acknowledge the importance of united counsels

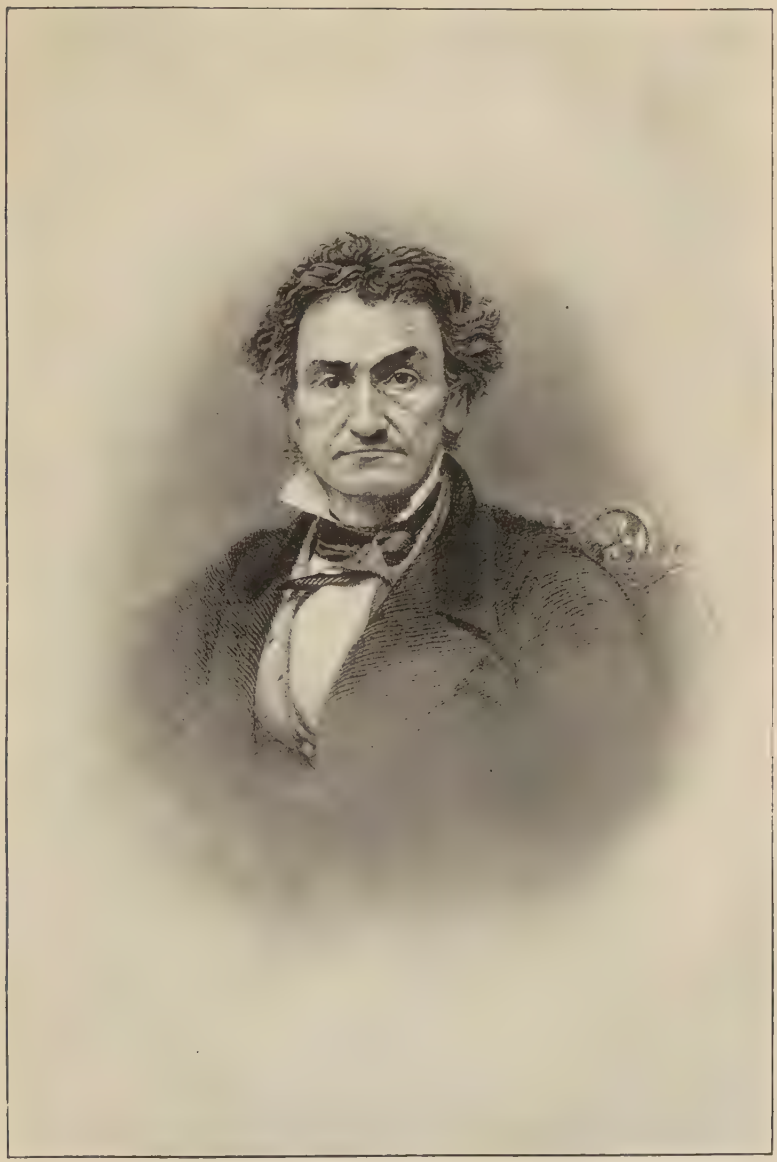
and action. Subordinately to the larger offices of patriotism, or, rather, as the mode of fulfilling those offices, you acknowledge your duty to the party of relief and reform. Sir, in the language of the great philosophic orator on whose immortal and universal wisdom the Senator from Virginia drew so instructively yesterday, "in the way which men call party, worship we the Constitution of our country." Now, without entering in detail on the grounds of my opinion, I think we shall hold that party together longer; we shall do more good, and hinder more evil; we shall effect more relief and more reform; we shall carry out more of our great measures; we shall insure a longer succession of our great men by adopting than by rejecting the amendment. It was due to frankness and to honor to say so much. Decorum and custom forbid me to say more. See, however, if the keen and vigilant Opposition on this floor, who mark their objects and pursue them with the eyes of eagles, do not vote against the amendment in sufficient numbers to defeat it if we divide on it among ourselves. I speak not of motives, and I know nothing of actual intentions, but I reason from the obvious nature of the case, and I believe that, if they see that nothing else will, their party tactics will defeat it.

For my part, I own that I wish the new administration to have the honor and the felicity of carrying successfully through this its first measure of relief. I wish it to relieve the country, and also to preserve itself. I wish to disappoint their prophecies who told us so often, during the late canvass, that our materials are discordant, that no common principles bind us together, and that our first attempt at a measure of government would dissolve and dissipate us. I will not, if I can help it, have a hand in fulfilling such

prophecies. But then, if we would hinder their inevitable fulfilment, remember that we must administer the power we have acquired with the same wise tolerance of the opinions of the widespread members of our party by which we acquired it. If you took up the candidate on one set of tests of political orthodoxy, will you try to destroy—will you destroy the incumbent by the application of different and stricter tests?

And, Mr. President, in a larger view of this matter, is it not in a high degree desirable to make such a charter that, while it secures to the people all that such kind of instrumentality as a bank can secure, we may still, in the mode and details of the thing, respect the scruples and spare the feelings of those who, just as meritoriously, usefully, and conspicuously as yourselves, are members of our political association, but who differ with you on the question of constitutional power? If I can improve the local currency, diffuse a sound and uniform national one, facilitate, cheapen, and systematize the exchanges, secure the safekeeping and transmission of the public money, promote commerce, and deepen and multiply the springs of a healthful credit by a bank, and can at the same time so do it as to retain the cordial, constant co-operation, and prolong the public usefulness of friends who hold a different theory of the Constitution, is it not just so much clear gain?

I was struck, in listening to the Senator from Virginia yesterday, with the thought how idle, how senseless, it is to spend time in deploring or being peevish about the inveterate constitutional opinions of the community he so ably represents. There the opinions are. What will you do with them? You cannot change them; you cannot



RUFUS CHOATE

Orations—Volume thirteen

stride over or disregard them. There they are; what will you do with them? Compromise the matter. Adjust it, if you can, in such sort that they shall neither yield their opinions nor you yield yours. Give to the people all the practical good which a bank can give, and let the constitutional question whether Congress can make a bank by its own powers or not stand over for argument on the last day of the Greek kalends, when the disputants may have the world all to themselves to wrangle it out in! Yes, sir, compromise it. Our whole history is but a history of compromises. You have compromised in larger things; do it in less; do it in this. You have done it for the sake of the Union; do it for the sake of the party which is doing it for the sake of the Union. You never made one which was received with wider and sincerer joy than this would be. Do it, then. Do as your fathers did when they came together, delegates from the slave States and delegates from the free, representatives of planters, of mechanics, of manufacturers, and the owners of ships, the cool and slow New England men, and the mercurial children of the sun, and sat down side by side in the presence of Washington, to frame this more perfect Union. Administer the Constitution in the temper that created it. Do as you have yourselves done in more than one great crisis of your affairs, when questions of power and of administration have shaken these halls and this whole country, and an enlarged and commanding spirit, not yet passed away from our counsels, assisted you to rule the uproar and to pour seasonable oil on the rising sea. Happy, thrice happy for us all, if the Senator from Kentucky would allow himself to-day to win another victory of reconciliation!

Do not say that this is a mere question of power or no

power, and that conciliatory adjustment is inapplicable and inadmissible. Do not say that we who believe that the general government may establish a bank with branches in the States possessing the local discount function without their assent, do, by voting for this amendment, surrender our opinions, or strike out a particle of power from the Constitution. No, sir, we do neither. What we say and do, and all we say and do, is exactly this. We assert that the full power is in the Constitution. There we leave it, unabridged, unimpaired. We declared that, when, in our judgment, it is expedient to exert it, we will concur in exerting it in its whole measure, ourselves uncommitted, unembarrassed by the forbearance which we now advise and practice. But we say that all power is to be exercised with sound discretion in view of the time and circumstances; that contested constitutional power is pre-eminently so to be exercised; that it does not follow, because we possess a giant's strength, that we are therefore to put it all forth, with the blind and undistinguishing impulse of a giant; that, in this instance, deferring to temporary and yet embarrassing circumstances, to opinions, for the sake of harmonious and permanent administration, for the sake of conciliating and saving friends, for the sake of immediate relief to the vast, various, and sensitive business interests of a great people, we do not think it needful or discreet to exercise the whole power over this subject which we find, assert, and cherish in the Constitution. We content ourselves with declaring that it is there, and that there we mean it shall remain. But perceiving that we can secure to the country all the practical good which it was introduced to secure without resorting to it; perceiving that, in the actual condition of things, we cannot

now exert it if we would; perceiving that we can reconcile opinions, spare feelings, and insure a general harmony of useful administrative action, by abstaining from the use of it, we abstain from the use of it. Thus the Senator from Virginia understands this act, and thus do we. No broader, no other effect can be ascribed to it. If you inspect the bill itself, after it shall have received this amendment, you will find that it in truth assumes and asserts the constitutional power of the National Legislature to create a corporation which has authority to transact in every one of the States all the business of a bank except that of discounting. So much power it necessarily assumes and asserts. And then as to the business of making discounts, it neither asserts nor denies that you have the power to authorize it without the assent of the States; it just authorizes the corporation to do it with their assent, and there it leaves the matter. Both classes of expounders of the Constitution, certainly that to which I belong, may vote for such a bill without yielding any opinion, or changing in the least the sacred and awful text of the great Charter itself.

Let me say, sir, that to administer the contested powers of the Constitution is, for those of you who believe that they exist, at all times a trust of difficulty and delicacy. I do not know that I should not venture to suggest this general direction for the performance of that grave duty. Steadily and strongly assert their existence; do not surrender them; retain them with a provident forecast; for the time may come when you will need to enforce them by the whole moral and physical strength of the Union; but do not exert them at all so long as you can by other less offensive expedients of wisdom effectually secure to the people all the practical benefits which you believe they

were inserted into the Constitution to secure. Thus will the Union last longest and do most good. To exercise a contested power without necessity on a notion of keeping up the tone of government is not much better than tyranny, and very improvident and impolitic tyranny, too. It is turning "extreme medicine into daily bread." It forgets that the final end of government is not to exert restraint, but to do good.

Within this general view of the true mode of administering contested powers, I think the measure we propose is as wise as it is conciliatory; wise because it is conciliatory; wise because it reconciles a sound and a strong theory of the Constitution with a discreet and kind administration of it. I desire to give the country a bank. Well, here is a mode in which I can do it. Shall I refuse to do it in that mode, because I cannot at the same time, and by the same operation, gain a victory over the settled constitutional opinions, and show my contempt for the ancient and unappeasable jealousy and prejudices of not far less than half of the American people? Shall I refuse to do it in that mode, because I cannot at the same time, and by the same operation, win a triumph of constitutional law over political associates, who agree with me on nine in ten of all the questions which divide the parties of the country; whose energies and eloquence, under many an October and many an August sun, have contributed so much to the transcendent reformation which has brought you into power? Shall I refuse to the people their rights, until and unless, by the mode of conferring those rights, I can also plant a wound in the side of one who has stood shoulder to shoulder with me in the great civil contest of the last ten years? Do you really desire that the same cloud of summer which

pauses to pour out its treasures, long withheld, on the parched and dreary land, should send down a thunderbolt on the head of a noble and conspicuous friend? Certainly nobody here can cherish such a thought for a moment.

There is one consideration more which has had some influence in determining my vote. I confess that I think that a bank established in the manner contemplated by this amendment stands, in the actual circumstances of our time, a chance to lead a quieter and more secure life, so to speak, than a bank established by the bill. I think it worth our while to try to make, what never yet was seen, a popular National Bank. Judging from the past and the present, from the last years of the last bank, and the manner in which its existence was terminated; from the tone of the debate and of the press, and the general indications of public opinion, I acknowledge an apprehension that such an institution, created by a direct exertion of your power, throwing off its branches without regard to the wishes or wants of the States, as judged of by themselves, and without any attempt to engage their auxiliary co-operation, diminishing the business and reducing the profits of the local banks, and exempted from their burdens—I confess that such an institution may not find so quiet and safe a field of operation as is desirable for usefulness and profit. I do not wish to see it standing like a fortified post on a foreign border—never wholly at peace, always assailed, always belligerent, not falling perhaps, but never safe, the nurse and the prize of implacable hostility. No, sir. Even such an institution, under conceivable circumstances, it might be our duty to establish and maintain in the face of all opposition and to the last gasp. But so much evil attends such a state of things, so much insecur-

ity, so much excitement; it would be exposed to the pelting of such a pitiless storm of the press and of public speech; so many demagogues would get good livings by railing at it; so many honest men would really regard it as unconstitutional, and as dangerous to business and to liberty, that it is worth an exertion to avoid it. Why, sir, notice has been formally given us by the eloquent Senator from Ohio, that on the day you grant this charter he lays a resolution on your table to repeal it. Sir, I desire to see the Bank of the United States become a cherished domestic institution, reposing in the bosom of our law and of our attachments. Established by the concurrent action or on the application of the States, such might be its character. There will be a struggle on the question of admitting the discount power into the States; much good sense and much nonsense will be spoken and written; but such a struggle will be harmless and brief, and when that is over, all is over. The States which exclude it will hardly exasperate themselves further about it. Those which admit it will soothe themselves with the consideration that the act is their own, and that the existence of this power of the branch is a perpetual recognition of their sovereignty. Thus might it sooner cease to wear the alien, aggressive, and privileged aspect which has rendered it offensive, and become sooner blended with the mass of domestic interests, cherished by the same regards, protected by the same and by a higher law.

EULOGY ON WEBSTER[1]

WEBSTER possessed the element of an impressive character, inspiring regard, trust, and admiration, not unmingled with love. It had, I think, intrinsically a charm such as belongs only to a good, noble, and beautiful nature. In its combination with so much fame, so much force of will, and so much intellect, it filled and fascinated the imagination and heart. It was affectionate in childhood and youth, and it was more than ever so in the few last months of his long life. It is the universal testimony that he gave to his parents, in largest measure, honor, love, obedience; that he eagerly appropriated the first means which he could command to relieve the father from the debts contracted to educate his brother and himself; that he selected his first place of professional practice that he might soothe the coming on of his old age; that all through life he neglected no occasion—sometimes when leaning on the arm of a friend, alone, with faltering voice, sometimes in the presence of great assemblies, where the tide of general emotion made it graceful—to express his "affectionate veneration of him who reared and defended the log cabin in which his elder brothers and sisters were born, against savage violence and destruction, cherished all the domestic virtues beneath its roof, and, through the fire and blood of some years of revolutionary war, shrank from no danger, no toil, no sacrifice, to serve his country and to raise his children to a condition better than his own."

Equally beautiful was his love of all his kindred and of all

[1] Used by kind permission of Little, Brown & Co.

his friends. When I hear him accused of selfishness, and a cold, bad nature, I recall him lying sleepless all night, not without tears of boyhood, conferring with Ezekiel how the darling desire of both hearts should be compassed, and he, too, admitted to the precious privileges of education; courageously pleading the cause of both brothers in the morning; prevailing by the wise and discerning affection of the mother; suspending his studies of the law, and registering deeds and teaching school to earn the means, for both, of availing themselves of the opportunity which the parental self-sacrifice had placed within their reach; loving him through life, mourning him when dead, with a love and a sorrow very wonderful, passing the sorrow of woman; I recall the husband, the father of the living and of the early departed, the friend, the counsellor of many years, and my heart grows too full and liquid for the refutation of words.

His affectionate nature, craving ever friendship, as well as the presence of kindred blood, diffused itself through all his private life, gave sincerity to all his hospitalities, kindness to his eye, warmth to the pressure of his hand; made his greatness and genius unbend themselves to the playfulness of childhood, flowed out in graceful memories indulged of the past or the dead, of incidents when life was young and promised to be happy,—gave generous sketches of his rivals, —the high contention now hidden by the handful of earth,— hours passed fifty years ago with great authors, recalled for the vernal emotions which then they made to live and revel in the soul. And from these conversations of friendship, no man—no man, old or young—went away to remember one word of profaneness, one allusion of indelicacy, one impure thought, one unbelieving suggestion, one doubt cast on the reality of virtue, of patriotism, of enthusiasm, of the progress

of man,—one doubt cast on righteousness, or temperance, or judgment to come.

Every one of his tastes and recreations announced the same type of character. His love of agriculture, of sports in the open air, of the outward world in starlight and storms, and sea and boundless wilderness,—partly a result of the influences of the first fourteen years of his life, perpetuated like its other affections and its other lessons of a mother's love,—the Psalms, the Bible, the stories of the wars,—partly the return of an unsophisticated and healthful nature, tiring, for a space, of the idle business of political life, its distinctions, its artificialities, to employments, to sensations which interest without agitating the universal race alike, as God has framed it, in which one feels himself only a man, fashioned from the earth, set to till it, appointed to return to it, yet made in the image of his Maker, and with a spirit that shall not die,—all displayed a man whom the most various intercourse with the world, the longest career of strife and honors, the consciousness of intellectual supremacy, the coming in of a wide fame, constantly enlarging, left, as he was at first, natural, simple, manly, genial, kind.

You will all concur, I think, with a learned friend who thus calls my attention to the resemblance of his character, in some of these particulars, to that of Walter Scott:—

"Nature endowed both with athletic frames, and a noble presence; both passionately loved rural life, its labors and sports; possessed a manly simplicity, free from all affectation, genial and social tastes, full minds, and happy elocution; both stamped themselves with indelible marks upon the age in which they lived; both were laborious, and always with high and virtuous aims, ardent in patriotism, overflowing with love of 'kindred blood,' and, above all, frank and unostentatious Christians."

I have learned by evidence the most direct and satisfactory, that in the last months of his life, the whole affectionateness of his nature; his consideration of others; his gentleness; his desire to make them happy and to see them happy, seemed to come out in more and more beautiful and habitual expression than ever before. The long day's public tasks were felt to be done; the cares, the uncertainties, the mental conflicts of high place, were ended; and he came home to recover himself for the few years which he might still expect would be his before he should go hence to be here no more. And there, I am assured and fully believe, no unbecoming regrets pursued him; no discontent, as for injustice suffered or expectations unfulfilled; no self-reproach for anything done or anything omitted by himself; no irritation, no peevishness unworthy of his noble nature; but instead, love and hope for his country, when she became the subject of conversation; and for all around him, the dearest and most indifferent, for all breathing things about him, the overflow of the kindest heart growing in gentleness and benevolence; paternal, patriarchal affections, seeming to become more natural, warm, and communicative every hour. Softer and yet brighter grew the tints on the sky of parting day; and the last lingering rays, more even than the glories of noon, announced how divine was the source from which they proceeded; how incapable to be quenched; how certain to rise on a morning which no night should follow.

Such a character was made to be loved. It was loved. Those who knew and saw it in its hour of calm—those who could repose on that soft green—loved him. His plain neighbors loved him; and one said, when he was laid in his grave, "How lonesome the world seems!" Educated young men loved him. The ministers of the gospel, the general in-

telligence of the country, the masses afar off, loved him. True, they had not found in his speeches, read by millions, so much adulation of the people; so much of the music which robs the public reason of itself; so many phrases of humanity and philanthropy; and some had told them he was lofty and cold,—solitary in his greatness; but every year they came nearer and nearer to him, and as they came nearer, they loved him better; they heard how tender the son had been, the husband, the brother, the father, the friend, and neighbor; that he was plain, simple, natural, generous, hospitable,—the heart larger than the brain; that he loved little children and reverenced God, the Scriptures, the Sabbath-day, the constitution, and the law,—and their hearts clave unto him. More truly of him than even of the great naval darling of England might it be said that "his presence would set the church-bells ringing, and give school-boys a holiday,—would bring children from school and old men from the chimney-corner, to gaze on him ere he died." The great and unavailing lamentation first revealed the deep place he had in the hearts of his countrymen.

You are now to add to this his extraordinary power of influencing the convictions of others by speech, and you have completed the survey of the means of his greatness. And here, again, I begin, by admiring an aggregate made up of excellences and triumphs, ordinarily deemed incompatible. He spoke with consummate ability to the bench, and yet exactly as, according to every sound canon of taste and ethics, the bench ought to be addressed. He spoke with consummate ability to the jury, and yet exactly as, according to every sound canon, that totally different tribunal ought to be addressed. In the halls of Congress, before the people assembled for political discussion in masses, before audiences

smaller and more select, assembled for some solemn commemoration of the past or of the dead,—in each of these, again, his speech, of the first form of ability, was exactly adapted, also, to the critical proprieties of the place; each achieved, when delivered, the most instant and specific success of eloquence,—some of them in a splendid and remarkable degree; and yet, stranger still, when reduced to writing, as they fell from his lips, they compose a body of reading,—in many volumes,—solid, clear, rich, and full of harmony,—a classical and permanent political literature.

And yet all these modes of his eloquence, exactly adapted each to its stage and its end, were stamped with his image and superscription, identified by characteristics incapable to be counterfeited and impossible to be mistaken. The same high power of reason, intent in every one to explore and display some truth; some truth of judicial, or historical, or biographical fact; some truth of law, deduced by construction, perhaps, or by illation; some truth of policy, for want whereof a nation, generations, may be the worse,—reason seeking and unfolding truth; the same tone, in all, of deep earnestness, expressive of strong desire that that which he felt to be important should be accepted as true, and spring up to action; the same transparent, plain, forcible, and direct speech, conveying his exact thought to the mind,—not something less or more; the same sovereignty of form, of brow, and eye, and tone, and manner,—everywhere the intellectual king of men, standing before you,—that same marvellousness of qualities and results, residing, I know not where, in words, in pictures, in the ordering of ideas, in felicities indescribable, by means whereof, coming from his tongue, all things seemed mended, —truth seemed more true, probability more plausible, greatness more grand, goodness more awful, every affection more

tender than when coming from other tongues,—these are, in all, his eloquence. But sometimes it became individualized and discriminated even from itself; sometimes place and circumstances, great interests at stake, a stage, an audience fitted for the highest historic action, a crisis, personal or national, upon him, stirred the depths of that emotional nature, as the anger of the goddess stirs the sea on which the great epic is beginning; strong passions, themselves kindled to intensity, quickened every faculty to a new life; the stimulated associations of ideas brought all treasures of thought and knowledge within command, the spell, which often held his imagination fast, dissolved, and she arose and gave him to choose of her urn of gold; earnestness became vehemence, the simple, perspicuous, measured, and direct language became a headlong, full, and burning tide of speech; the discourse of reason, wisdom, gravity, and beauty, changed to that Δεινότης, that rarest consummate eloquence,—grand, rapid, pathetic, terrible; the *aliquid immensum infinitumque* that Cicero might have recognized; the master triumph of man in the rarest opportunity of his noblest power.

Such elevation above himself, in congressional debate, was most uncommon. Some such there were in the great discussions of executive power following the removal of the deposits, which they who heard them will never forget, and some which rest in the tradition of hearers only. But there were other fields of oratory on which, under the influence of more uncommon springs of inspiration, he exemplified, in still other forms, an eloquence in which I do not know that he has had a superior among men. Addressing masses by tens of thousands in the open air, on the urgent political questions of the day, or designated to lead the meditations of an hour devoted to the remembrance of some national era, or of

some incident marking the progress of the nation, and lifting him up to a view of what is, and what is past, and some indistinct revelation of the glory that lies in the future, or of some great historical name, just borne by the nation to his tomb—we have learned that then and there, at the base of Bunker Hill, before the corner-stone was laid, and again when from the finished column the centuries looked on him; in Faneuil Hall, mourning for those with whose spoken or written eloquence of freedom its arches had so often resounded; on the Rock of Plymouth; before the Capitol, of which there shall not be one stone left on another before his memory shall have ceased to live—in such scenes, unfettered by the laws of forensic or parliamentary debate; multitudes uncounted lifting up their eyes to him; some great historical scenes of America around; all symbols of her glory and art and power and fortune there; voices of the past, not unheard; shapes beckoning from the future, not unseen—sometimes that mighty intellect, borne upwards to a height and kindled to an illumination which we shall see no more, wrought out, as it were, in an instant a picture of vision, warning, prediction; the progress of the nation; the contrasts of its eras; the heroic deaths; the motives to patriotism; the maxims and arts imperial by which the glory has been gathered and may be heightened—wrought out, in an instant, a picture to fade only when all record of our mind shall die.

In looking over the public remains of his oratory, it is striking to remark how, even in that most sober and massive understanding and nature, you see gathered and expressed the characteristic sentiments and the passing time of our America. It is the strong old oak which ascends before you; yet our soil, our heaven, are attested in it as perfectly as if it were a flower that could grow in no other climate and in

no other hour of the year or day. Let me instance in one thing only. It is a peculiarity of some schools of eloquence that they embody and utter, not merely the individual genius and character of the speaker, but a national consciousness—a national era, a mood, a hope, a dread, a despair—in which you listen to the spoken history of the time. There is an eloquence of an expiring nation, such as seems to sadden the glorious speech of Demosthenes; such as breathes grand and gloomy from the visions of the prophets of the last days of Israel and Judah; such as gave a spell to the expression of Grattan and of Kossuth—the sweetest, most mournful, most awful of the words which man may utter, or which man may hear—the eloquence of a perishing nation. There is another eloquence, in which the national consciousness of a young or renewed and vast strength, of trust in a dazzling, certain, and limitless future, an inward glorying in victories yet to be won, sounds out as by voice of clarion, challenging to contest for the highest prize of earth; such as that in which the leader of Israel in its first days holds up to the new nation the Land of Promise; such as that which in the well-imagined speeches scattered by Livy over the history of the "majestic series of victories" speaks the Roman consciousness of growing aggrandizement which should subject the world; such as that through which, at the tribunes of her revolution, in the bulletins of her rising soldier, France told to the world her dream of glory. And of this kind somewhat is ours; cheerful, hopeful, trusting, as befits youth and spring; the eloquence of a State beginning to ascend to the first class of power, eminence, and consideration, and conscious of itself. It is to no purpose that they tell you it is in bad taste; that it partakes of arrogance and vanity; that a true national good breeding would not know, or seem to know, whether the

nation is old or young; whether the tides of being are in their flow or ebb; whether these coursers of the sun are sinking slowly to rest, wearied with a journey of a thousand years, or just bounding from the Orient unbreathed. Higher laws than those of taste determine the consciousness of nations. Higher laws than those of taste determine the general forms of the expression of that consciousness. Let the downward age of America find its orators and poets and artists to erect its spirit, or grace and soothe its dying; be it ours to go up with Webster to the Rock, the Monument, the Capitol, and bid "the distant generations hail!"

In this connection remark, somewhat more generally, to how extraordinary an extent he had by his acts, words, thoughts, or the events of his life, associated himself forever in the memory of all of us, with every historical incident, or at least with every historical epoch; with every policy; with every glory; with every great name and fundamental institution, and grand or beautiful image, which are peculiarly and properly American. Look backwards to the planting of Plymouth and Jamestown; to the various scenes of colonial life in peace and war; to the opening and march and close of the revolutionary drama—to the age of the constitution; to Washington and Franklin and Adams and Jefferson; to the whole train of causes from the Reformation downwards, which prepared us to be Republicans; to that other train of causes which led us to be Unionists—look round on field, workshop, and deck, and hear the music of labor rewarded, fed, and protected—look on the bright sisterhood of the States, each singing as a seraph in her motion, yet blending in a common beam and swelling a common harmony—and there is nothing which does not bring him by some tie to the memory of America.

We seem to see his form and hear his deep grave speech everywhere. By some felicity of his personal life; by some wise, deep, or beautiful word spoken or written; by some service of his own, or some commemoration of the services of others, it has come to pass that "our granite hills, our inland seas and prairies, and fresh, unbounded, magnificent wilderness;" our encircling ocean; the resting-place of the Pilgrims; our new-born sister of the Pacific; our popular assemblies; our free schools; all our cherished doctrines of education, and of the influence of religion, and material policy and law, and the constitution, give us back his name. What American landscape will you look on; what subject of American interest will you study; what source of hope or of anxiety, as an American, will you acknowledge that it does not recall him?

I have reserved, until I could treat it as a separate and final topic, the consideration of the morality of Mr. Webster's public character and life. To his true fame—to the kind and degree of influence which that large series of great actions and those embodied thoughts of great intellect are to exert on the future—this is the all-important consideration. In the last speech which he made in the Senate—the last of those which he made, as he said, for the constitution and the Union, and which he might have commended, as Bacon his name and memory, "to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations,
8 and the next ages"—yet with a better hope he asserted, "The ends I aim at shall be those of my country, my God, and truth." Is that praise his?

Until the seventh day of March, 1850, I think it would have been accorded to him by an almost universal acclaim, as general and as expressive of profound and intelligent conviction, and of enthusiasm, love, and trust, as ever saluted

conspicuous statesmanship, tried by many crises of affairs in a great nation, agitated ever by parties, and wholly free.

That he had admitted into his heart a desire to win, by deserving them, the highest forms of public honor, many would have said; and they who loved him most fondly and felt the truest solicitude that he should carry a good conscience and pure fame brightening to the end, would not have feared to concede. For he was not ignorant of himself; and he therefore knew that there was nothing within the Union, constitution, and law too high or too large or too difficult for him. He believed that his natural or his acquired abilities and his policy of administration would contribute to the true glory of America; and he held no theory of ethics which required him to disparage, to suppress, to ignore vast capacities of public service merely because they were his own. If the fleets of Greece were assembling and her tribes buckling on their arms from Laconia to Mount Olympus, from the promontory of Sunium to the isle farthest to the west, and the great epic action was opening, it was not for him to feign insanity or idiocy to escape the perils and the honor of command. But that all this in him had been ever in subordination to a principled and beautiful public virtue; that every sectional bias, every party tie, as well as every personal aspiring, had been uniformly held by him for nothing against the claims of country; that nothing lower than country seemed worthy enough—nothing smaller than country large enough—for that great heart, would not have been questioned by a whisper. Ah! if at any hour before that day he had died, how would then the great procession of the people of America—the great triumphal procession of the dead—have moved onward to his grave—the sublimity of national sorrow, not contrasted, not outraged by one feeble voice of calumny!

In that antecedent public life, embracing from 1812 to 1850—a period of thirty-eight years—I find grandest proofs of the genuineness and comprehensiveness of his patriotism, and the boldness and manliness of his public virtue. He began his career of politics as a Federalist. Such was his father—so beloved and revered; such his literary and professional companions; such, although by no very decisive or certain preponderance, the community in which he was bred and was to live. Under that name of party he entered Congress, personally, and by connection, opposed to the war, which was thought to bear with such extreme sectional severity upon the North and East. And yet one might almost say that the only thing he imbibed from Federalists or Federalism was love and admiration for the constitution as the means of union. That passion he did inherit from them; that he cherished.

He came into Congress, opposed, as I have said, to the war; and behold him, if you would judge of the quality of his political ethics, in opposition. Did those eloquent lips, at a time of life when vehemence and imprudence are expected, if ever, and not ungraceful, let fall ever one word of faction? Did he ever deny one power to the general government which the soundest expositors of all creeds have allowed it? Did he ever breathe a syllable which could excite a region, a State, a family of States, against the Union,—which could hold out hope or aid to the enemy?—which sought or tended to turn back or to chill the fiery tide of a new and intense nationality, then bursting up, to flow and burn till all things appointed to America to do shall be fulfilled? These questions, in their substance, he put to Mr. Calhoun, in 1838, in the Senate, and that great man—one of the authors of the war—just then, only then, in relations unfriendly to Mr. Webster, and who

had just insinuated a reproach on his conduct in the war, was silent. Did Mr. Webster content himself even with objecting to the details of the mode in which the administration waged the war? No, indeed. Taught by his constitutional studies that the Union was made in part for commerce, familiar with the habits of our long line of coast, knowing well how many sailors and fishermen driven from every sea by embargo and war, burned to go to the gun-deck and avenge the long wrongs of England on the element where she had inflicted them, his opposition to the war manifested itself by teaching the nation that the deck was her field of fame. *Non illi imperium pelagi sævumque tridentem, sed nobis, sorte datum.*

But I might recall other evidence of the sterling and unusual qualities of his public virtue. Look in how manly a sort he not merely conducted a particular argument or a particular speech, but in how manly a sort, in how high a moral tone, he uniformly dealt with the mind of his country. Politicians got an advantage of him for this while he lived; let the dead have just praise to-day. Our public life is one long electioneering, and even Burke tells you that at popular elections the most rigorous casuists will remit something of their severity. But where do you find him flattering his countrymen, indirectly or directly, for a vote? On what did he ever place himself but good counsels and useful service? His arts were manly arts, and he never saw a day of temptation when he would not rather fall than stand on any other. Who ever heard that voice cheering the people on to rapacity, to injustice, to a vain and guilty glory? Who ever saw that pencil of light hold up a picture of manifest destiny to dazzle the fancy? How anxiously rather, in season and out, by the energetic eloquence of his youth, by his counsels bequeathed on the verge of a timely grave, he preferred to teach that by

all possible acquired sobriety of mind, by asking reverently of the past, by obedience to the law, by habits of patient and legitimate labor, by the cultivation of the mind, by the fear and worship of God, we educate ourselves for the future that is revealing. Men said he did not sympathize with the masses, because his phraseology was rather of an old and simple school, rejecting the nauseous and vain repetitions of humanity and philanthropy and progress and brotherhood, in which may lurk heresies so dreadful, of socialism or disunion; in which a selfish, hollow, and shallow ambition may mask itself,—the siren song which would lure the pilot from his course. But I say that he did sympathize with them; and because he did he came to them not with adulation but with truth; not with words to please but with measures to serve them; not that his popular sympathies were less but that his personal and intellectual dignity and his public morality were greater.

And on the seventh day of March, and down to the final scene, might he not still say as ever before, that "all the ends he aimed at were his country's, his God's, and truth's." He declared, "I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. Hear me for my cause. I speak to-day out of a solicitous and anxious heart for the restoration to the country of that quiet and harmony which make the blessings of this Union so rich and so dear to us all. These are the motives and the sole motives that influence me." If in that declaration he was sincere, was he not bound in conscience to give the counsels of that day? What were they? What was the single one for which his political morality was called in question? Only that a provision of the federal constitution ordaining the restitution of fugitive slaves should be executed according to its true meaning. This only. And might he not in good

conscience keep the constitution in this part and in all for the preservation of the Union?

Under his oath to support it and to support it all, and with his opinions of that duty so long held, proclaimed uniformly, in whose vindication on some great days he had found the chief opportunity of his personal glory, might he not in good conscience support it and all of it, even if he could not—and no human intelligence could certainly—know that the extreme evil would follow, in immediate consequence, its violation? Was it so recent a doctrine of his that the constitution was obligatory upon the national and individual conscience that you should ascribe it to sudden and irresistible temptation? Why, what had he, quite down to the seventh of March, that more truly individualized him?—what had he more characteristically his own?—wherewithal had he to glory more or other than all beside, than this very doctrine of the sacred and permanent obligation to support each and all parts of that great compact of union and justice? Had not this been his distinction, his speciality,—almost the foible of his greatness,—the darling and master passion ever? Consider that that was a sentiment which had been part of his conscious nature for more than sixty years; that from the time he bought his first copy of the constitution on the handkerchief, and revered parental lips had commended it to him with all other holy and beautiful things, along with lessons of reverence to God and the belief and love of his Scriptures, along with the doctrine of the catechism, the unequalled music of Watts, the name of Washington,—there had never been an hour that he had not held it the master-work of man,—just in its ethics, consummate in its practical wisdom, paramount in its injunctions; that every year of life had deepened the original impression; that as his mind opened and his as-

sociations widened he found that every one for whom he felt respect, instructors, theological and moral teachers, his entire party connection, the opposite party, and the whole country, so held it, too; that its fruits of more than half a century of union, of happiness, of renown, bore constant and clear witness to it in his mind, and that it chanced that certain emergent and rare occasions had devolved on him to stand forth to maintain it, to vindicate its interpretation, to vindicate its authority, to unfold its workings and uses; that he had so acquitted himself of that opportunity as to have won the title of its expounder and defender, so that his proudest memories, his most prized renown, referred to it and were entwined with it—and say whether with such antecedents, readiness to execute or disposition to evade, would have been the hardest to explain; likeliest to suggest the surmise of a new temptation! He who knows anything of man knows that his vote for beginning the restoration of harmony by keeping the whole constitution was determined, was necessitated, by the great law of sequences,—a great law of cause and effect running back to his mother's arms, as resistless as the law which moves the system about the sun,—and that he must have given it, although it had been opened to him in vision, that within the next natural day his " eyes should be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven."

To accuse him in that act of " sinning against his own conscience " is to charge one of these things: either that no well-instructed conscience can approve and maintain the constitution, and each of its parts, and therefore that his, by inference, did not approve it; or that he had never employed the proper means of instructing his conscience, and therefore its approval, if it were given, was itself an immorality. The accuser must assert one of these propositions. He will not

deny, I take it for granted, that the conscience requires to be instructed by political teaching in order to guide the citizen or the public man aright, in the matter of political duties. Will he say that the moral sentiments alone, whatever their origin—whether factitious and derivative, or parcel of the spirit of the child and born with it—that they alone, by force of strict and mere ethical training, become qualified to pronounce authoritatively whether the constitution, or any other vast and complex civil policy, as a whole, whereby a nation is created and preserved, ought to have been made or ought to be executed? Will he venture to tell you, that if your conscience approves the Union, the constitution in all its parts, and the law which administers it, that you are bound to obey and uphold them; and if it disapproves, you must, according to your measure, and in your circles of agitation, disobey and subvert them and leave the matter there—forgetting or designedly omitting to tell you also that you are bound in all good faith and diligence to resort to studies and to teachers *ab extra*—in order to determine whether the conscience ought to approve or disapprove the Union, the constitution, and the law, in view of the whole aggregate of their nature and fruits? Does he not perfectly know that this moral faculty, however trained, by mere moral institution, specifically directed to that end, to be tender, sensitive, and peremptory, is totally unequal to decide on any action or any thing but the very simplest; that which produces the most palpable and immediate result of unmixed good, or unmixed evil; and that when it comes to judge on the great mixed cases of the world, where the consequences are numerous, their development slow and successive, the light and shadow of a blended and multiform good and evil spread out on the lifetime of a nation, that then morality must borrow from history; from politics;

from reason operating on history and politics, her elements of determination? I think he must agree to this. He must agree, I think, that to single out one provision in a political system of many parts and of elaborate interdependence, to take it all alone, exactly as it stands and without attention to its origin and history; the necessities, morally resistless, which prescribed its introduction into the system, the unmeasured good in other forms which its allowance buys, the unmeasured evil in other forms which its allowance hinders—without attention to these, to present it in all "the nakedness of a metaphysical abstraction" to the mere sensibilities; and ask if it is not inhuman, and if they answer according to their kind, that it is, then to say that the problem is solved and the right of disobedience is made clear—he must agree that this is not to exalt reason and conscience but to outrage both. He must agree that although the supremacy of conscience is absolute whether the decision be right or wrong, that is, according to the real qualities of things or not, that there lies back of the actual conscience, and its actual decisions the great anterior duty of having a conscience that shall decide according to the real qualities of things; that to this vast attainment some adequate knowledge of the real qualities of the things which are to be subjected to its inspection is indispensable; that if the matter to be judged of is anything so large, complex, and conventional as the duty of the citizen, or the public man, to the State; the duty of preserving or destroying the order of things in which we are born; the duty of executing or violating one of the provisions of organic law which the country, having a wide and clear view before and after, had deemed a needful instrumental means for the preservation of that order; that then it is not enough to relegate the citizen, or the public man, to a higher law, and an in-

terior illumination, and leave him there. Such discourse is "as the stars, which give so little light because they are so high." He must agree that in such case morality itself should go to school. There must be science as well as conscience, as old Fuller has said. She must herself learn of history; she must learn of politics; she must consult the builders of the State, the living and the dead, to know its value, its aspects in the long run, on happiness and morals; its dangers; the means of its preservation; the maxims and arts imperial of its glory. To fit her to be the mistress of civil life, he will agree that she must come out for a space from the interior round of emotions, and subjective states and contemplations, and introspection, "cloistered, unexercised, unbreathed,"—and, carrying with her nothing but her tenderness, her scrupulosity, and her love of truth, survey the objective realities of the State; ponder thoughtfully on the complications, and impediments, and antagonisms which make the noblest politics but an aspiring, an approximation, a compromise, a type, a shadow of good to come, "the buying of great blessings at great prices,"—and there learn civil duty *secundum subjectam materiam*. "Add to your virtue knowledge"—or it is no virtue.

And now, is he who accuses Mr. Webster of "sinning against his own conscience," quite sure that he knows that that conscience—well instructed by profoundest political studies and thoughts of the reason, well instructed by an appropriate moral institution sedulously applied, did not commend and approve his conduct to himself? Does he know that he had not anxiously and maturely studied the ethics of the constitution, and as a question of ethics, but of ethics applied to a stupendous problem of practical life, and had not become satisfied that they were right? Does he know that he

had not done this when his faculties were all at their best and his motives under no suspicion? May not such an enquirer, for aught you can know, may not that great mind have verily and conscientiously thought that he had learned in that investigation many things? May he not have thought that he learned that the duty of the inhabitants of the free States, in that day's extremity, to the republic, the duty at all events of statesmen to the republic, is a little too large and delicate and difficult to be all comprehended in the single emotion of compassion for one class of persons in the commonwealth, or in carrying out the single principle of abstract and natural and violent justice to one class? May he not have thought that he found there some stupendous exemplifications of what we read of in books of casuistry, the "dialectics of conscience," as conflicts of duties; such things as the conflicts of the greater with the less; conflicts of the attainable with the visionary; conflicts of the real with the seeming; and may he not have been soothed to learn that the evil which he found in this part of the constitution was the least of two; was unavoidable; was compensated; was justified; was commanded, as by a voice from the Mount, by a more exceeding and enduring good? May he not have thought that he had learned that the grandest, most difficult, most pleasing to God, of the achievements of secular wisdom and philanthropy is the building of a State; that of the first class of grandeur and difficulty and acceptableness to him, in this kind, was the building of our own; that unless everybody of consequence enough to be heard of in the age and generation of Washington—unless that whole age and generation were in a conspiracy to cheat themselves, and history, and posterity, a certain policy of concession and forbearance of region to region was indispensable to rear that master-work of man; and that

that same policy of concession and forbearance is as indispensable, more so, now, to afford a rational ground of hope for its preservation? May he not have thought that he had learned that the obligation, if such in any sense you may call it, of one State to allow itself to become an asylum for those flying from slavery into another State, was an obligation of benevolence, of humanity only, not of justice; that it must therefore on ethical principles be exercised under all the limitations which regulate and condition the benevolence of States; that therefore each is to exercise it in strict subordination to its own interests, estimated by a wise statesmanship and a well-instructed public conscience; that benevolence itself, even its ministrations of mere good will, is an affair of measure and of proportions; and must choose sometimes between the greater good and the less; that if, to the highest degree, and widest diffusion of human happiness, a union of States such as ours, some free, some not so, was necessary; and to such union the constitution was necessary; and to such a constitution this clause was necessary, humanity itself prescribes it and presides in it? May he not have thought that he learned that there are proposed to humanity in this world many fields of beneficent exertion; some larger, some smaller, some more, some less expensive and profitable to till; that among these it is always lawful, and often indispensable, to make a choice; that sometimes, to acquire the right or the ability to labor in one, it is needful to covenant not to invade another; and that such covenant, in partial restraint, rather in reasonable direction of philanthropy is good in the forum of conscience; and setting out with these very elementary maxims of practical morals, may he not have thought that he learned from the careful study of the facts of our history and opinions that to acquire the power of advancing

the dearest interests of man, through generations countless, by that unequalled security of peace and progress, the Union; the power of advancing the interest of each State, each region, each relation—the slave and the master; the power of subjecting a whole continent all astir and on fire with the emulation of young republics; of subjecting it through ages of household calm to the sweet influences of Christianity, of culture, of the great, gentle, and sure reformer, time; that to enable us to do this, to enable us to grasp this boundless and ever-renewing harvest of philanthropy, it would have been a good bargain—that humanity herself would have approved it—to have bound ourselves never so much as to look across the line into the enclosure of Southern municipal slavery; certainly never to enter it; still less, still less, to—

> "Pluck its berries harsh and crude,
> And with forced fingers rude
> Shatter its leaves before the mellowing year."

Until the accuser who charges him, now that he is in his grave, with "having sinned against his conscience," will assert that the conscience of a public man may not, must not, be instructed by profound knowledge of the vast subject-matter with which public life is conversant—even as the conscience of the mariner may be and must be instructed by the knowledge of navigation; and that of the pilot by the knowledge of the depths and shallows of the coast; and that of the engineer of the boat and the train by the knowledge of the capacities of his mechanism to achieve a proposed velocity; and will assert that he is certain that the consummate science of our great statesman was felt by himself to prescribe to his morality another conduct than that which he adopted, and that he thus consciously outraged that "sense of duty which pursues us ever"—is he not inexcusable, whoever he is, that so judges another?

But it is time that this eulogy was spoken. My heart goes back into the coffin there with him and I would pause. I went—it is a day or two since—alone, to see again the home which he so dearly loved, the chamber where he died, the grave in which they laid him—all habited as when—

> "His look drew audience still as night,
> Or summer's noontide air."

till the heavens be no more. Throughout that spacious and calm scene all things to the eye showed at first unchanged. The books in the library, the portraits, the table at which he wrote, the scientific culture of the land, the course of agricultural occupation, the coming-in of harvests, fruit of the seed his own hand had scattered, the animals and implements of husbandry, the trees planted by him in lines, in copses, in orchards, by thousands, the seat under the noble elm on which he used to sit to feel the southwest wind at evening or hear the breathings of the sea or the not less audible music of the starry heavens, all seemed at first unchanged. The sun of a bright day from which however something of the fervors of midsummer were wanting, fell temperately on them all, filled the air on all sides with the utterances of life and gleamed on the long line of ocean. Some of those whom on earth he loved best still were there. The great mind still seemed to preside, the great presence to be with you; you might expect to hear again the rich and playful tones of the voice of the old hospitality. Yet a moment more, and all the scene took on the aspect of one great monument inscribed with his name and sacred to his memory. And such it shall be in all the future of America! The sensation of desolateness and loneliness and darkness with which you see it now will pass away; the sharp grief of love and friendship will become soothed; men will repair thither as they are wont to com-

memorate the great days of history; the same glance shall take in and the same emotions shall greet and bless the Harbor of the Pilgrims and the Tomb of Webster.

ORATION ON AMERICAN NATIONALITY[1]

DELIVERED IN BOSTON ON THE EIGHTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, JULY 5, 1858

IT is well that in our year, so busy, so secular, so discordant, there comes one day when the word is, and when the emotion is, "Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country."

It is well that law, our only sovereign on earth; duty, not less the daughter of God, not less within her sphere supreme; custom, not old alone, but honored and useful; memories; our hearts,—have set a time in which—scythe, loom, and anvil stilled, shops shut, wharves silent, the flag,—our flag unrent,—the flag of our glory and commemoration, waving on masthead, steeple, and highland—we may come together and walk hand in hand, thoughtful, admiring, through these galleries of civil greatness; when we may own together the spell of one hour of our history upon us all; when faults may be forgotten, kindnesses revived, virtues remembered and sketched unblamed; when the arrogance of reform, the excesses of reform, the strifes of parties, the rivalries of regions, shall give place to a wider, warmer, and juster sentiment; when, turning from the corners and dark places of offensiveness, if such the candle lighted by malignity, or envy, or censoriousness, or truth, has revealed anywhere,—when, turning from these, we may go up together to the serene and

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secret mountain-top, and there pause and there unite in the reverent exclamation and in the exultant prayer, "How beautiful at last are thy tabernacles! What people at last is like unto thee! Peace be within thy palaces and joy within thy gates! The high places are thine and there shalt thou stand proudly and innocently and securely."

Happy, if such a day shall not be desecrated by our service! Happy, if for us that descending sun shall look out on a more loving, more elevated, more united America! These, no less, no narrower, be the aims of our celebration. These always were the true aims of this celebration.

In its origin, a recital or defence of the grounds and principles of the Revolution, now demanding and permitting no defence, all taken for granted, and all had by heart; then sometimes wasted in a parade of vainglory, cheap and vulgar, sometimes profaned by the attack and repulse of partisan and local rhetoricians; its great work, its distinctive character, and its chief lessons, remain and vindicate themselves, and will do so while the eye of the fighting or the dying shall yet read on the stainless, ample folds the superscription blazing still in light, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

I have wished, therefore, as it was my duty, in doing myself the honor to join you in this act, to give some direction to your thoughts and feelings, suited at once to the nation's holiday and seasonable and useful in itself. How difficult this may be I know. To try, however, to try to do anything is easy, and it is American also. Your candor will make it doubly easy, and to your candor I commit myself.

The birthday of a nation, old or young, and certainly if young, is a time to think of the means of keeping alive the

nation. I do not mean to say, however, because I do not believe, that there is but one way to this, the direct and the didactic. For at last it is the spirit of the day which we would cherish. It is our great annual national love-feast which we keep; and if we rise from it with hearts larger, beating fuller, with feeling purer and warmer for America, what signifies it how frugally, or how richly, or how it was spread; or whether it was a strain on the organ, the trumpet tones of the Declaration, the prayer of the good man, the sympathy of the hour, or what it was which wrought to that end?

I do not therefore say that such an anniversary is not a time for thanksgiving to God, for gratitude to men, the living and the dead, for tears and thoughts too deep for tears, for eulogy, for exultation, for all the memories, and for all the contrasts which soften and lift up the general mind.

I do not say, for example, that to dwell on that one image of progress which is our history; that image so grand, so dazzling, so constant; that stream now flowing so far and swelling into so immense a flood, but which burst out a small, choked, uncertain spring from the ground at first; that transition from the Rock at Plymouth, from the unfortified peninsula at Jamestown, to this America which lays a hand on both the oceans,—from that heroic yet feeble folk whose allowance to a man by the day was five kernels of corn, for three months no corn, or a piece of fish, or a moldered remainder biscuit, or a limb of a wild bird; to whom a drought in spring was a fear and a judgment and a call for humiliation before God; who held their breath when a flight of arrows or a war-cry broke the innocent sleep or startled the brave watching,—from that handful, and that want, to these millions, whose area is a continent, whose harvests might load

the board of famishing nations, for whom a world in arms has no terror; to trace the long series of causes which connected these two contrasted conditions, the Providences which ordained and guided a growth so stupendous; the dominant race, sober, earnest, constructive,—changed, but not degenerate here; the influx of other races, assimilating, eloquent, and brave; the fusion of all into a new one; the sweet stimulations of liberty; the removal by the whole width of oceans from the establishments of Europe, shaken, tyrannical, or burdened; the healthful virgin world; the universal progress of reason and art,—universal as civilization; the aspect of revolutions on the human mind; the expansion of discovery and trade; the developing sentiment of independence; the needful baptism of wars; the brave men, the wise men; the constitution, the Union; the national life and the feeling of union which have grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength,—I do not say that meditations such as these might not teach or deepen the lesson of the day.

All these things, so holy and beautiful, all things American, may afford certainly the means to keep America alive. That vast panorama unrolled by our general history, or unrolling; that eulogy, so just, so fervent, so splendid, so approved; that electric, seasonable memory of Washington; that purchase and that dedication of the dwelling and the tomb, the work of woman and of the orator of the age; that record of his generals, that visit to battle-fields; that reverent wiping away of dust from great urns; that speculation, that dream of her past, present, and future; every ship builded on lake or ocean; every treaty concluded; every acre of territory annexed; every cannon cast; every machine invented; every mile of new railroad and telegraph undertaken; every dollar added to the aggregate of national or individual wealth,—

these all, as subjects of thought, as motives to pride and care, as teachers of wisdom, as agencies for probable good, may work, may ensure, that earthly immortality of love and glory for which this celebration was ordained.

My way, however, shall be less ambitious and less indirect. Think, then, for a moment on American nationality itself; the outward national life and the inward national sentiment. Think on this; its nature, and some of its conditions, and some of its ethics,—I would say, too, some of its dangers, but there shall be no expression of evil omen in this stage of the discourse; and to-day, at least, the word is safety, or hope.

To know the nature of American nationality, examine it first by contrast and then examine it in itself.

In some of the elemental characteristics of political opinion the American people are one. These they can no more renounce for substance than the highest summit of the highest of the White Hills, than the peak of the Alleghanies, than the Rocky Mountains can bow and cast themselves into the sea. Through all their history, from the dawn of the colonial life to the brightness of this rising, they have spoken them, they have written them, they have acted them, they have run over with them.

In all stages, in all agonies, through all report, good and evil,—some learning from the golden times of ancient and mediæval freedom, Greece, and Italy, and Geneva, from Aristotle, from Cicero and Bodinus, and Machiavel and Calvin; or later, from Harrington, and Sydney, and Rousseau; some learning, all reinforcing it directly from nature and nature's God—all have held and felt that every man was equal to every other man; that every man had a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and a conscience un-

fettered; that the people were the source of power, and the good of the people was the political object of society itself.

This creed, so grand, so broad,—in its general and duly qualified terms, so true,—planted the colonies, led them through the desert and the sea of ante-revolutionary life, rallied them all together to resist the attacks of a king and a minister, sharpened and pointed the bayonets of all their battles, burst forth from a million lips, beamed in a million eyes, burned in a million bosoms, sounded out in their revolutionary eloquence of fire and in the Declaration, awoke the thunders and gleamed in the lightning of the deathless words of Otis, Henry, and Adams, was graved for ever on the general mind by the pen of Jefferson and Paine, survived the excitements of war and the necessities of order, penetrated and tinged all our constitutional composition and policy, and all our party organizations and nomenclature, and stands to-day, radiant, defiant, jocund, tiptoe, on the summits of our greatness, one authoritative and louder proclamation to humanity by freedom, the guardian and the avenger.

But in some traits of our politics we are not one. In some traits we differ from one another, and we change from ourselves. You may say these are subordinate, executory, instrumental traits. Let us not cavil about names, but find the essences of things. Our object is to know the nature of American nationality, and we are attempting to do so, first, by contrasting it with its antagonisms.

There are two great existences, then, in our civil life, which have this in common, though they have nothing else in common, that they may come in conflict with the nationality which I describe; one of them constant in its operation, constitutional, healthful, auxiliary, even; the other rarer, illegitimate, abnormal, terrible; one of them a force under law;

the other a violence and a phenomenon above law and against law.

It is first the capital peculiarity of our system, now a commonplace in our politics, that the affections which we give to country we give to a divided object, the States in which we live and the Union by which we are enfolded. We serve two masters. Our hearts own two loves. We live in two countries at once, and are commanded to be capacious of both. How easy it is to reconcile these duties in theory; how reciprocally, more than compatible, how helpful and independent they are in theory; how in this respect our system's difference makes our system's peace, and from these blended colors, and this action and counteraction, how marvellous a beauty and how grand a harmony we draw out, you all know. Practically you know, too, the adjustment has not been quite so simple. How the constitution attempts it is plain enough. There it is; *litera scripta manet;* and heaven and earth shall pass before one jot or one tittle of that Scripture shall fail of fulfilment.

So we all say, and yet how men have divided on it. How they divided in the great convention itself, and in the very presence of Washington. How the people divided on it. How it has created parties, lost and given power, bestowed great reputations and taken them away, and colored and shaken the universal course of our public life! But have you ever considered that in the nature of things this must be so?

Have you ever considered that it was a federative system we had to adopt, and that in such a system a conflict of head and members is in some form and to some extent a result of course? There the States were when we became a nation. There they have been for one hundred and fifty years—for one hundred and seventy years. Some power; it was agreed

on all hands, we must delegate to the new government. Of some thunder, some insignia, some beams, some means of kindling pride, winning gratitude, attracting honor, love, obedience, friends, all men knew they must be bereaved and they were so.

But when this was done there were the States still. In the scheme of every statesman they remained a component part, unannihilated, indestructible. In the scheme of the constitution, of compromise itself, they remained a component part, indestructible. In the theories of all publicists and all speculators they were retained, and they were valued for it, to hinder and to disarm that centralization which had been found to be the danger and the weakness of federal liberty.

And then when you bear in mind that they are sovereignties, quasi, but sovereignties still; that one of the most dread and transcendent prerogatives of sovereignties, the prerogative to take life and liberty for crime, is theirs without dispute; that in the theories of some schools they may claim to be parties to the great compact, and as such may, and that any of them may, secede from that compact when by their corporate judgment they deem it to be broken fundamentally by the others, and that from such a judgment there is no appeal to a common peaceful umpire; that in the theories of some schools they may call out their young men and their old men under the pains of death to defy the sword-point of the federal arm; that they can pour around even the gallows and the tomb of him who died for treason to the Union honor, opinion, tears, and thus sustain the last untimely hour and soothe the disembodied, complaining shade; that every one, by name, by line of boundary, by jurisdiction, is distinct from every other and every one from the nation; that within their inviolate borders lie our farms, our homes, our meeting-houses,

our graves; that their laws, their courts, their militia, their police, to so vast an extent protect our persons from violence, and our homes from plunder; that their heaven ripens our harvests; their schools form our children's mental and moral nature; their charities or their taxes feed our poor; their hospitals cure or shelter our insane; that their image, their opinions, their literature, their morality are around us ever, a presence, a monument, an atmosphere—when you consider this you feel how practical and how inevitable is that antagonism to a single national life, and how true it is that we "buy all our blessings at a price."

But there is another antagonism to such a national life, less constant, less legitimate, less compensated, more terrible, to which I must refer,—not for reprobation, nor for warning, not even for grief, but that we may know by contrast nationality itself,—and that is the element of sections.

This, too, is old; older than the States, old as the colonies, old as the churches that planted them, old as Jamestown, old as Plymouth. A thousand forms disguise and express it and in all of them it is hideous. *Candidum seu nigrum hoc tu Romane caveto.* Black or white, as you are Americans, dread it, shun it!

Springing from many causes and fed by many stimulations; springing from that diversity of climate, business, institutions, accomplishment, and morality, which comes of our greatness and compels and should constitute our order and our agreement, but which only makes their difficulty and their merit; from that self-love and self-preference which are their own standard, exclusive, intolerant, and censorious of what is wise and holy; from the fear of ignorance, the jealousy of ignorance, the narrowness of ignorance; from incapacity to abstract, combine, and grasp a complex and various object,

and thus rise to the dignity of concession and forbearance and compromise; from the frame of our civil polity, the necessities of our public life and the nature of our ambition, which forces all men not great men—the minister in his parish, the politician on the stump on election day, the editor of the party newspaper—to take his rise or his patronage from an intense local opinion, and therefore to do his best to create or reinforce it; from our federative government; from our good traits, bad traits, and foolish traits; from that vain and vulgar hankering for European reputation and respect for European opinion, which forgets that one may know Aristophanes, and Geography, and the Cosmical Unity and Telluric influences, and the smaller morals of life, and all the sounding pretensions of philanthropy, and yet not know America; from that philosophy, falsely so called, which boasts emptily of progress, renounces traditions, denies God and worships itself; from an arrogant and flashy literature which mistakes a new phrase for a new thought, and old nonsense for new truth, and is glad to exchange for the fame of drawing-rooms and parlor windows, and the sidelights of a car in motion, the approval of time and the world; from philanthropy which is short-sighted, impatient, and spasmodic, and cannot be made to appreciate that its grandest and surest agent, in his eye whose lifetime is eternity, and whose periods are ages, is a nation and a sober public opinion and a safe and silent advancement, reforming by time; from that spirit which would rule or ruin and would reign in hell rather than serve in heaven; springing from these causes and stimulated thus, there is an element of regions antagonistic to nationality.

Always, I have said, there was one; always there will be. It lifted its shriek sometimes even above the silver clarion

tone that called millions to unite for independence. It resisted the nomination of Washington to command our armies; made his new levies hate one another; assisted the caballings of Gates and Conway; mocked his retreats, and threw its damp passing cloud for a moment over his exceeding glory; opposed the adoption of any constitution; and perverted by construction and denounced as a covenant with hell the actual constitution when it was adopted; brought into our vocabulary and discussions the hateful and ill-omened words North and South, Atlantic and Western, which the grave warnings of the Farewell Address expose and rebuke; transformed the floor of Congress into a battlefield of contending local policy; convened its conventions at Abbeville and Hartford; rent asunder conferences and synods; turned stated assemblies of grave clergymen and grave laymen into shows of gladiators or of the beasts of gladiators; checked the holy effort of missions and set back the shadow on the dial-plate of a certain amelioration and ultimate probable emancipation many degrees. Some might say it culminated later in an enterprise even more daring still; but others might deny it.

The ashes upon that fire are not yet cold, and we will not tread upon them. But all will unite in prayer to Almighty God that we may never see, nor our children, nor their children to the thousandth generation may ever see it culminate in a geographical party, banded to elect a geographical President and inaugurate a geographical policy.

"Take any shape but that, and thou art welcome!"

But now, by the side of this and all antagonisms, higher than they, stronger than they, there rises colossal the fine sweet spirit of nationality, the nationality of America! See there the pillar of fire which God has kindled and lifted and moved

for our hosts and our ages. Gaze on that, worship that, worship the highest in that.

Between that light and our eyes a cloud for a time may seem to gather; chariots, armed men on foot, the troops of kings may march on us, and our fears may make us for a moment turn from it; a sea may spread before us and waves seem to hedge us up; dark idolatries may alienate some hearts for a season from that worship; revolt, rebellion, may break out in the camp, and the waters of our springs may run bitter to the taste and mock it; between us and that Canaan a great river may seem to be rolling; but beneath that high guidance our way is onward, ever onward; those waters shall part and stand on either hand in heaps; that idolatry shall repent; that rebellion shall be crushed; that stream shall be sweetened; that overflowing river shall be passed on foot dry-shod in harvest time; and from that promised land of flocks, fields, tents, mountains, coasts and ships, from north and south, and east and west, there shall swell one cry yet, of victory, peace and thanksgiving!

But we were seeking the nature of the spirit of nationality, and we pass in this inquiry from contrast to analysis. You may call it, subjectively regarded, a mode of contemplating the nation in its essence, and so far it is an intellectual conception, and you may call it a feeling, toward the nation thus contemplated, and so far it is an emotion. In the intellectual exercise it contemplates the nation as it is one, and as it is distinguished from all other nations, and in the emotional exercise it loves it, and is proud of it as thus it is contemplated. This you may call its ultimate analysis.

But how much more is included in it! How much flows from it! How cold and inadequate is such a description, if we leave it there! Think of it first as a state of conscious-

ness, as a spring of feeling, as a motive to exertion, as blessing your country, and as reacting on you. Think of it as it fills your mind and quickens your heart, and as it fills the mind and quickens the heart of millions around you.

Instantly under such an influence you ascend above the smoke and stir of this small local strife; you tread upon the high places of the earth and of history; you think and feel as an American for America; her power, her eminence, her consideration, her honor, are yours; your competitors, like hers, are kings; your home, like hers, is the world; your path, like hers, is on the highway of empires; our charge, her charge, is of generations and ages; your record, her record, is of treaties, battles, voyages, beneath all the constellations; her image, one, immortal, golden, rises on your eye as our western star at evening rises on the traveller from his home; no lowering cloud, no angry river, no lingering spring, no broken crevasse, no inundated city or plantation, no tracts of sand, arid and burning, on that surface, but all blended and softened into one beam of kindred rays, the image, harbinger, and promise of love, hope, and a brighter day!

Think of it next as an active virtue. Is not all history a recital of the achievements of nationality, and an exponent of its historical and imperial nature? Even under systems far less perfect and influences far less auspicious than ours, has it not lifted itself up for a time above all things meaner, vindicating itself by action, by the sublimity of a brave daring, successful or unsuccessful, by the sublimity of a working hope? How loose, for example, and how perfidious was that union of the States of Greece in all times!

How distinct were the nations of Attica, of Laconia, of Thessaly, of Bœotia, and how utterly insufficient the oracle, the Amphictyonic Assembly, the games, the great first epic,

to restrain Athens and Sparta and Thebes from contending, by diplomacy, by fraud, by battle, for the mastery! And yet even in the historical age, when the storm of Eastern invasion swept that blue sea, and those laughing islands, and iron-bound coast, over, above, grander and more useful than the fear and policy which counselled temporary union,—were there not some, were there not many, on whose perturbed and towering motives came the thought of that great, common, Greek name; that race, kindred at last, though policy, though mines of marble, though ages had parted them, —that golden, ancient, polished speech, that inherited ancestral glory, that national Olympus, that inviolated, sterile, and separate earth, that fame of camps, that fire of camps which put out the ancient life of the Troy of Asia; and was it not such memories as these that burn and revel in the pages of Herodotus?

Did not Sparta and Athens hate one another and fight one another habitually, and yet when those Lacedæmonian levies gazed so steadfastly on the faces of the fallen at Marathon, did they not give Greek tears to Athens and Greek curses to Persia, and in the hour of Platæa did they not stand together against the barbarian?

What else formed the secret of the brief spell of Rienzi's power, and burned and sparkled in the poetry and rhetoric of his friend Petrarch, and soothed the dark hour of the grander soul of Machiavel, loathing that Italy, and recalling that other day when "eight hundred thousand men sprang to arms at the rumor of a Gallic invasion?"

Is not Prussia afraid of Austria, and Saxony of Bavaria, and Frankfort jealous of Dresden, and so through the twenty-seven or thirty States, great and small; and yet the dear, common fatherland, the old German tongue, the legend

of Hermann, the native and titular Rhine flowing rapid, deep, and majestic, like the life of a hero of antiquity,—do not these spectacles and these traditions sometimes wake the nationality of Germany to action as well as to life and hope?

But if you would contemplate nationality as an active virtue, look around you. Is not our own history one witness and one record of what it can do? This day and all which it stands for,—did it not give us these? This glory of the fields of that war, this eloquence of that revolution, this wide one sheet of flame which wrapped tyrant and tyranny and swept all that escaped from it away, forever and forever; the courage to fight, to retreat, to rally, to advance, to guard the young flag by the young arm and the young heart's blood, to hold up and hold on till the magnificent consummation crowned the work,—were not all these imparted as inspired by this imperial sentiment?

Has it not here begun the master-work of man, the creation of a national life? Did it not call out that prodigious development of wisdom, the wisdom of constructiveness which illustrated the years after the war, and the framing and adopting of the constitution? Has it not, in the general, contributed to the administering of that government wisely and well since? Look at it! It has kindled us to no aims of conquest. It has involved us in no entangling alliances. It has kept our neutrality dignified and just.

The victories of peace have been our prized victories. But the larger and truer grandeur of the nations, for which they are created and for which they must, one day, before some tribunal give account, what a measure of these it has enabled us already to fulfil! It has lifted us to the throne and has set on our brow the name of the great republic.

It has taught us to demand nothing wrong, and to submit to nothing wrong; it has made our diplomacy sagacious, wary, and accomplished; it has opened the iron gate of the mountain, and planted our ensign on the great, tranquil sea; it has made the desert to bud and blossom as the rose; it has quickened to life the giant brood of useful arts; it has whitened lake and ocean with the sails of a daring, new, and lawful trade; it has extended to exiles, flying as clouds, the asylum of our better liberty; it has kept us at rest within all our borders; it has repressed without blood the intemperance of local insubordination; it has scattered the seeds of liberty, under law and under order, broadcast; it has seen and helped American feeling to swell into a fuller flood; from many a field and many a deck, though it seeks not war, makes not war, and fears not war, it has borne the radiant flag all unstained; it has opened our age of lettered glory; it has opened and honored the age of the industry of the people!

We have done with the nature of American nationality, with its contrasts, analysis, and fruits. I have less pleasure to remind you that it has conditions also and ethics. And what are some of these? This is our next consideration.

And the first of these is that this national existence is, to an extraordinary degree, not a growth, but a production; that it has origin in the will and the reason, and that the will and the reason must keep it alive or it can bear no life. I do not forget that a power above man's power, a wisdom above man's wisdom, a reason above man's reason, may be traced without the presumptuousness of fanaticism in the fortunes of America.

I do not forget that God has been in our history. Beyond that dazzling progress of art, society, thought, which is of

his ordaining, although it may seem to a false philosophy a fatal and inevitable flow under law,—beyond this I do not forget that there have been and there may be again interpositions, providential, exceptional, and direct, of that Supreme Agency without which no sparrow falleth. That condition of mind and of opinion in Europe, and more than anywhere else in England, which marked the period of emigration and bore flower, fruit, and seed after its kind in the new world; that conflict and upheaval and fermenting in the age of Charles the First, and the Long Parliament, and Cromwell, and Milton,—violated nature asserting herself; that disappearance of the old races here, wasting so mysteriously and so seasonably,—that drear death giving place as in nature to a better life; that long colonial growth in shade and storm and neglect, sheltered imperfectly by our relations to the mother country, and not yet exposed to the tempest and lightning of the high places of political independence; burdened and poor, but yet evolving, germinant, prophetic; that insane common attack of one tyranny on so many charters; that succession of incompetent English commanders and English tactics against us in the war; that one soul breathed in a moment into a continent; the declaration so timely, and so full of tone; the name, the services, the influence of Washington,—these are "parts of his ways," and we may understand and adore them.

I do not forget either that in the great first step we had to take—that difficulty so stupendous, of beginning to mould the colonies into a nation, to overcome the prejudices of habit and ignorance, the petty cavils of the petty, the envy, the jealousy, the ambition, the fears of great men and little men; to take away partition walls, roll away provincial flags and hush provincial drums, and give to the young republic *e plu-*

ribus unum, to set out onward and upward on her zodiac path,—I do not forget that in this, too, there were helps of circumstances for which no philosophy and no pride can make us unthankful.

Take one. Have you ever considered, speculating on the mysteries of our national being, how providentially the colonial life itself, in one respect, qualified for union, and how providentially it came to pass that independence and nationality were born in one day? Suppose that, from the times when they were planted respectively, these colonies had been independent of one another, and of every one,—suppose this had been so for one hundred and fifty years, for one hundred and seventy years; that in the eye of public law they had through all that time ranked with England, with France; that through all that time they had made war, concluded peace, negotiated treaties of commerce and of alliance, received and sent ministers, coined money, superintended trade, "done all other things which independent States of right may do;" and then that a single foreign power had sought to reduce them. I do not say that that power would have reduced them. I do not say that necessity, that prudence, which is civil necessity, would not have taught them to assist one another, and that in one sense, and that a just one, they would have fought and triumphed together.

But when that victory was won and the cloud rolled off seaward, would these victors have flown quite so easily into a common embrace and become a single people? This long antecedent several independence; this long antecedent national life,—would it not have indurated them and separated them? These old high actions and high passions flowing diverse; these opposed banners of old fields; this music of hostile marches; these memories of an unshared past; this history of a glory

in which one only had part,—do you think they could have been melted, softened, and beaten quite so easily into the unity of a common life?

Might not the world have seen here, instead, another Attica, and Achaia, and Lacedæmonia, and Messina, and Naples, and Florence, and Saxony? Did not that colonial life, in its nature—that long winter and lingering spring—discipline and prepare men for the future of their civil life, as an April snow enriches the earth it seems to bury? Did it not keep back the growths which might otherwise have shot up into impracticable ranknesses and diversities? Did it not divert men from themselves to one another — from Massachusetts and Virginia and New York, to the forming or the possible America? Instead of stunting and enfeebling, did it not enlarge and strengthen?

And when all that host flocked together, to taste together the first waters of independent life, and one high, common, proud feeling pervaded their ranks, lifted up all hearts, softened all hearts at once—and a Rhode Island general was seen to fight at the Eutaws; and a New Yorker, or one well-beloved of Massachusetts, at Saratoga; and a Virginian to guide the common war, and a united army to win the victory for all—was not the transition, in a moment so sublime, more natural, less violent, more easy to the transcendent conception of nationality itself?

9 I do not deny, too, that some things subordinate and executory are a little easier than at first; that the friction of the machine is less somewhat; that mere administration has grown simpler; that organizations have been effected which may move of themselves; that departments have been created and set going, which can go alone; that the constitution has been construed authoritatively; that a course, a routine has

been established in which things—some things—may go on as now, without your thought or mind.

Bold he is, moreover, I admit, not wise, who would undertake to determine what chance or what Providence may do, and what man may do in the sustentation of national life. But remember, that is a false philosophy and that is no religion which absolves from duty. That is impiety which boasts of a will of God and forgets the business of man. Will and reason created, will and reason must keep. Every day, still, we are in committee of the whole on the question of the constitution or no constitution. Eternal vigilance is the condition of union, as they say it is of liberty.

I have heard that if the same Omnipotence which formed the universe at first should suspend its care for a day, primeval chaos were come again. Dare we risk such a speculation in politics and act on it?

Consider how new is this America of yours! Some there are yet alive who saw this infant rocked in the cradle. Some there are yet alive who beheld the first inauguration of Washington; many that felt how the tidings of his death smote on the general heart. Some now alive saw the deep broad trench first excavated, the stone drawn from the mountain-side, the mortar mingled, the Cyclopean foundation laid, the tears, the anthems, the thanksgiving of the dedication day.

That unknown, therefore magnified, therefore magnificent original; that august tradition of a mixed human and divine; that hidden fountain; the long, half-hidden flow glancing uncertain and infrequent through the opening of the old forest, spreading out at last after leagues, after centuries, into the clear daylight of history; the authoritative prescription; the legend, the fable, the tones of uncertain harps, the acquiescence of generations, rising in a long line to life as to a gift,—

where for us are they? On all this architecture of utility and reason where has time laid a finger? What angularity has it rounded; what stone has it covered with moss; on what salient or what pendant coigne of vantage has it built its nest; on what deformity has its moonlight and twilight fallen? What enables us then to withhold for a moment the sustaining hand? The counsel of philosophy and history, of Cicero, of Machiavel, of Montesquieu, to turn to the first principles, to reproduce and reconstruct the ancient freedom, the masculine virtues, the plain wisdom of the original—is it not seasonable counsel eminently for you? Remember, your reason, your will, may keep, must keep, what reason and will builded. Yours is the responsibility, yours, to country, to man, unshared, unconcealed.

I do not know that I need to say next that such a spirit of nationality reposing on will and reason, or, however produced, not spontaneous, and therefore to some extent artificial, demands a specific culture to develop it and to make it intense, sure and constant. I need not say this, because it is so plain; but it is important as well as plain.

There is a love of country which comes uncalled for, one knows not how. It comes in with the very air, the eye, the ear, the instincts, the first taste of the mother's milk, the first beatings of the heart. The faces of brothers and sisters and the loved father and mother, the laugh of playmates, the old willow tree and well and schoolhouse, the bees at work in the spring, the note of the robin at evening, the lullaby, the cows coming home, the singing-book, the catechism, the visits of neighbors, the general training,—all things which make childhood happy begin it; and then as the age of the passions and the age of the reason draw on, and love and the sense of home and security and property under law, come to life; and as

the story goes round, and as the book or the newspaper relates the less-favored lots of other lands, and the public and the private sense of a man is forming and formed, there is a type of patriotism already.

Thus they had imbibed it who stood that charge at Concord, and they who hung deadly on the retreat, and they who threw up the hasty and imperfect redoubt on Bunker Hill by night, set on it the blood-red provincial flag, and passed so calmly with Prescott and Putnam and Warren through the experiences of the first fire.

But now to direct this spontaneous sentiment of hearts to the Union, to raise it high, to make it broad and deep, to instruct it, to educate it, is in some things harder, some things easier; but it may be done; it must be done. She, too, has her spectacles; she, too, has her great names; she, too, has her food for patriotism, for childhood, for man. "Americans," said an orator of France, "begin with the infant in the cradle. Let the first word he lisps be Washington."

Hang on his neck on that birthday and that day of his death at Mount Vernon the medal of Congress, by its dark ribbon; tell him the story of the flag, as it passes glittering along the road; bid him listen to that plain, old-fashioned, stirring music of the Union; lead him when school is out at evening to the grave of his great-grandfather, the old soldier of the war; bid him, like Hannibal, at nine years old, lay the little hand on that constitution and swear reverently to observe it; lift him up and lift yourselves up to the height of American feeling; open to him, and think for yourselves, on the relation of America to the States; show him upon the map the area to which she has extended herself; the climates that come into the number of her months; the silver paths of her trade, wide as the world; tell him of her contributions to humanity and

her protests for free government; keep with him the glad and solemn feasts of her appointment; bury her great names in his heart, and into your hearts; contemplate habitually, lovingly, intelligently, this grand abstraction, this vast reality of good; and such an institution may do somewhat to transform this surpassing beauty into a national life which shall last while sun and moon endure.

But there is another condition of our nationality of which I must say something, and that is that it rests on compromise. America, the constitution, practicable policy, all of it, are a compromise. Our public is possible—it can draw its breath for a day—only by compromise.

There is a cant of shallowness and fanaticism which misunderstands and denies this. There is a distempered and ambitious morality which says civil prudence is no virtue. There is a philanthropy,—so it calls itself,—pedantry, arrogance, folly, cruelty, impiousness, I call it, fit enough for a pulpit, totally unfit for a people; fit enough for a preacher, totally unfit for a statesman;—which, confounding large things with little things, ends with means, subordinate ends with chief ends, one man's sphere of responsibility with another man's sphere of responsibility, seed-time with harvest, one science with another science, one truth with another truth, one jurisdiction with another jurisdiction, the span-long day of life with the duration of States, generals with universals, the principle with the practice, the Anglo-Celtic-Saxon of America with the pavers of Paris, cutting down the half-grown tree to snatch the unripe fruit — there is a philanthropy which scolds at this even, and calls it names.

To such a spirit I have nothing to say, but I have something to say to you. It is remarked by a very leading writer of our

times, Lord Macaulay,—ennobled less by title than by genius and fame,—"that compromise is the essence of politics." That which every man of sense admits to be so true as to have become a commonplace of all politics, is peculiarly true of our national politics. Our history is a record of compromises; and this freedom and this glory attest their wisdom and bear their fruits. But can these compromises stand the higher test of morality? Concessions for the sake of the nation; concessions for what the general opinion of America has pronounced concessions for America; concessions in measures; concessions in spirit for such an end;—are they a virtue?

I hope it is worth something, in the first place, that the judgment of civilization, collected from all its expression and all its exponents, has ranked concession for the keeping and well-being of the nation among the whiter virtues. Starting with the grand central sentiment that patriotism is the noblest practical limitation of universal philanthropy and reserving its enthusiasm, its tears, for the martyred patriot, and deeming his death the most glorious of deaths, it has given ever the first place to him whose firmness, wisdom, and moderation have built the State, and whose firmness, wisdom, and moderation keep the State. These traits it has stamped as virtues.

These traits it has stamped as great virtues. Poetry, art, history, biography, the funeral discourse, the utterance of that judgment, how universally have they so stamped them! He whose harp, they said, attracted and fused savage natures; he who gave to his people, not the best government, but the best that they would bear; he who by timely adaptations elevated an inferior class to equality with a superior class and made two nations into one; he whose tolerance and comprehension put out the fires of persecution and placed all opinions and religions on one plane before the law; he whose healing coun-

sels composed the distractions of a various empire,—he is the great good man of civilization.

Ambition might have been his aim to some extent, but the result is a country, a power, a law. On that single title it raised his statue, hung on it the garland that cannot die, kept his birthday by the firing of cannons, and ringing of bells, and processions, and thanks to God Almighty. He may not have been fortunate in war; he may not have been foremost among men of genius; but what Luxembourg, what Eugene, what Marlborough, heaped on his ashes such a monument as the wise, just, cold, Dutch deliverer of England? What Gates, what Lee, what Alexander, what Napoleon, won such honor, such love, such sacred and warm-felt approval as our civil father, Washington? Does that judgment, the judgment of civilization, condemn Demosthenes, who would have invited Persia to help against Macedon; or Cicero, who praised and soothed the young Octavius, to win him from Anthony; or the Calvinist William, who invited the papal Austria to fight with him against Louis XIV? Does it dream of branding such an act as hypocrisy or apostacy? Does it not recognize it rather as wisdom, patriotism, and virtue, masculine and intelligent? Does it not rather give him all honor and thanks who could forego the sweets of revenge, rise above the cowardice of selfishness and the narrow memory of personal inapplicable antecedents, and for the love of Athens, of Rome, of England, of liberty, could magnanimously grasp the solid glory of great souls?

But this judgment of civilization, I maintain next, is a sound moral judgment. It is founded on a theory of duty which makes the highest utility to man the grandest achievement of man. It thinks that it discerns that the national life is the true, useful human life. It thinks that it discerns that

the greater includes the less; that beneath that order, that government, that law, that power, reform is easy and reform is safe,—reform of the man, reform of the nation. It ventures to hold that a nation is the grandest of the instrumentalities of morals and religion.

It holds that under that wing, beneath that lightning, there is room, there is capacity for humbly imitating his plan who sits in the circle of eternity, and with whom a thousand years are as one day; room, motive, capacity for labor, for culture, for preparation, for the preaching of the gospel of peace to all, for elevating by slow, sure and quiet gradations down to its depths, down to its chains, society itself. Concession to keep such an agent is concession to promote such ends.

Do you remember what a great moralist and a great man, Archbishop Whately, said on this subject in the House of Lords? He was advocating concession to Catholics; and see how much stronger was truth than the hatred of theologians. The biographer of Peel calls the speech a splendid piece of reasoning; and it decided the vote:

"So great is the outcry which it has been the fashion among some persons for several years past to raise against expediency that the very word has become almost an ill-omened sound. It seems to be thought by many a sufficient ground of condemnation of any legislator to say that he is guided by views of expediency. And some seem even to be ashamed of acknowledging that they are, in any degree, so guided. I, for one, however, am content to submit to the imputation of being a votary of expediency. And what is more, I do not see what right any one who is not so has to sit in Parliament or to take any part in public affairs.

"Any one who may choose to acknowledge that the measures he opposes are expedient, or that those he recommends are inexpedient, ought manifestly to have no seat in a deliberative assembly which is constituted for the express and sole purpose of considering what measures are conducive to the

public good,—in other words, 'expedient.' I say the 'public good,' because, of course, by 'expediency' we mean not that which may benefit some individual or some party or class of men at the expense of the public, but what conduces to the good of the nation.

"Now this, it is evident, is the very object for which deliberative assemblies are constituted. And so far is this from being regarded, by our church, at least, as something at variance with religious duty, that we have a prayer specially appointed to be offered up during the sitting of the Houses of Parliament, that their consultations may be 'directed and prospered for the safety, honor, and welfare of our sovereign and her dominions.' Now, if this be not the very definition of political expediency, let any one say what is."

I have no doubt, however, that this judgment of civilization rests in part on the difficulty and the rarity of the virtue which it praises. We prize the difficult and the rare because they are difficult and rare; and when you consider how easy and how tempting it is to fall in with and float with the stream on which so many swim; how easy is that broad road and how sweet that approved strain; how easy and how tempting it is to please an assenting congregation, or circle of readers, or local public; how easy and how tempting to compound for sins which an influential man "is not inclined to, by damning those he has no mind to;" how easy to please those we see and forget those out of sight; what courage, what love of truth are demanded to dissent; how hard it is to rise to the vast and varied conception and to the one idea, which grasps and adjusts all the ideas; how easy it is for the little man to become great, the shallow man to become profound; the coward out of danger to be brave; the free-state man to be an anti-slavery man and to write tracts which his friends alone read; when you think that even the laughter of fools and children and madmen, little ministers, little editors, and little

politicians, can inflict the mosquito bite, not deep, but stinging;—who wonders that the serener and the calmer judgment allots "to patient continuance in well doing," to resistance of the parts, to contention for the whole, to counsels of moderation and concession, "glory, honor, and immortality?"

> "What nothing earthly gives or can destroy,
> The soul's calm sunshine, and the heartfelt joy."

But this judgment of civilization is the judgment of religion, too. You believe with the Bible, with Cicero, with the teachings of history, that God wills the national life. He wills civilization, therefore society, therefore law, therefore government, therefore nations. How do we know this? Always, from the birth of the historical times, civilized man led the national life. Therein always the nature God has given him has swelled to all its perfection and has rendered the worthiest praise to the giver of the gift. He who wills the end wills the indispensable means; he wills the means which his teachers, nature, and experience, have ascertained to be indispensable. Then he wills these means, concession, compromise, love, forbearance, help, because his teachers, nature and experience, have revealed them to be indispensable. Then he wills our national life. Then he wills the spirit which made it and which keeps it.

Do you dare to say, with President Davies, that you believe that Providence raised up that young man, Washington, for some great public service,—with the spectator of that first inauguration, that you believe the Supreme Being looked down with complacency on that act,—with that Senate which thanked God that he had conducted to the tomb a fame whiter than it was brilliant; and yet dare to say that the spirit of Washington ought not to be your spirit, his counsels your guide, his farewell address your scripture of political religion?

But what does he say? I need not repeat it for you have it by heart; but what said a greater than he? "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and thus, to that extent, you "render unto God the things which are God's." Be these words our answer and our defence. When they press us with the commonplaces of anti-slavery, be these words of wisdom our answer. Say to them,

"Yes, I thank God I keep no slaves. I am sorry there is one on earth; I am sorry even that there is need of law, of subordination, of order, of government, of the discipline of the schools, of prisons, of the gallows; I wonder at such a system of things; piously I would reform it; but beneath that same system I am an American citizen; beneath that system this country it is my post to keep; while I keep her there is hope for all men, for the evil man, for the intemperate man, for slaves, for free, for all; that hope your rash and hasty hand would prostrate; that hope my patience would advance."

Have they done? Are they answered?

There are other conditions and other laws of our nationality on which there needs to be said something if there were time. That it is not and that it cannot come to good, that it cannot achieve its destiny, that it cannot live even unless it rests on the understanding of the State, you know. How gloriously this is anticipated by our own constitution, you remember. How well said Washington—who said all things as he did all things, well—"that in proportion as governments rest on public opinion, that opinion must be enlightened."

There must then be intelligence at the foundation. But what intelligence? Not that which puffeth up, I fancy; not flippancy, not smartness, not sciolism, whose fruits, whose expression are vanity, restlessness, insubordination, hate, irrev-

erence, unbelief, incapacity to combine ideas, and great capacity to overwork a single one. Not quite this. This is that little intelligence and little learning which are dangerous.

These are the characteristics, I have read, which pave the way for the downfall of States; not those on which a long glory and a long strength have towered. These, more than the general of Macedon, gave the poison to Demosthenes in the Island Temple. These, not the triumvirate alone, closed the eloquent lips of Cicero. These, before the populous North had done it, spread beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands in the downward age. These, not Christianity, not Goth, not Lombard, nor Norman, rent that fair one Italy asunder and turned the garden and the mistress of the earth into a school, into a hiding-place, of assassins,—of spies from Austria, of spies from France, with gold to buy and ears to catch and punish the dreams of liberty whispered in sleep, and shamed the memories and hopes of Machiavel and Mazzini, and gave for that joy and that beauty mourning and heaviness.

This is not the intelligence our constitution means, Washington meant, and our country needs. It is intelligence which, however it begins, ends with belief, with humility, with obedience, with veneration, with admiration, with truth; which recognizes and then learns and then teaches the duties of a comprehensive citizenship; which hopes for a future on earth and beyond earth, but turns habitually, reverently, thoughtfully, to the old paths, the great men, the hallowed graves of the fathers; which binds in one bundle of love the kindred and mighty legend of revolution and liberty, the life of Christ in the Evangelists and the constitution in its plain text; which can read with Lord Chatham, Thucydides and the stories of master-states of antiquity, yet holds with him that the papers of the Congress of 1776 were better; whose patriot-

ism grows warm at Marathon, but warmer at Monmouth, at Yorktown, at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga; which reforms by preserving, serves by standing and waiting, fears God and honors America.

I had something to say more directly still on the ethics of nationality, on the duty of instructing the conscience; on the crimes and treason, and slander, and fraud, that are committed around us in its name; on the shallowness and stupidity of the doctrine that the mere moral sentiments, trained by a mere moral discipline, may safely guide the complex civil life; of the teachers and studies which they need to fit them for so precious, difficult, and delicate a dominion; of the high place in the scale of duties which, thus fitted, they assign to nationality; of the judgment which, thus fitted, they would apply to one or two of the commonplaces and practices of the time.

But I pass it all to say only that these ethics teach the true subordination and the true reconciliation of apparently incompatible duties. These only are the casuists, or the safest casuists for us. Learn from them how to adjust this conflict between patriotism and philanthropy. To us, indeed, there seems to be no such conflict, for we are philanthropists in proportion as we are unionists. Our philanthropy, we venture to say, is a just philanthropy. That is all. It loves all men, it helps all men, it respects all rights, keeps all compacts, recognizes all dangers, pities all suffering, ignores no fact, master and slave it enfolds alike. It happens thus that it contracts the sphere of our duty somewhat and changes not the nature, but the time, the place, the mode of performing it. It does not make our love cold, but it makes it safe; it naturalizes it, it baptizes it into our life; it circumscribes it within our capacities and our necessities; it sets on it the great national public seal.

If you say that thus our patriotism limits our philanthropy,

I answer that ours is American philanthropy. Be this the virtue we boast, and this the name by which we know it. In this name, in this quality, find the standard and the utterance of the virtue itself. By this, not by broad phylacteries and chief seats, the keener hate, the gloomier fanaticism, the louder cry, judge, compare, subordinate. Do they think that nobody is a philanthropist but themselves?

We, too, look up the long vista and gaze, rapt, at the dazzling ascent; we, too see towers rising, crowned, imperial, and the tribes coming to bend in the opening of a latter day. But we see peace, order, reconciliation of rights along that brightening future. We trace all along that succession of reform the presiding instrumentalities of national life.

We see our morality working itself clearer and clearer; one historical and conventional right or wrong, after another, falling peacefully and still; we hear the chain breaking, but there is no blood on it, none of his whom it bound, none of his who put it on him; we hear the swelling chorus of the free, but master and slave unite in that chorus, and there is no discordant shriek above the harmony; we see and we hail the blending of our own glory with the eternal light of God, but we see, too, shapes of love and beauty ascending and descending there as in the old vision!

Holds fast this hope; distrust the philanthropy, distrust the ethics which would, which must, turn it into shame. Do no evil that good may come. Perform your share, for you have a share, in the abolition of slavery; perform your share, for you have a share, in the noble and generous strife of the sections—but perform it by keeping, by transmitting, a united, loving, and Christian America.

But why, at last, do I exhort and why do I seem to fear on such a day as this? Is it not the nation's birthday? Is it

not this country of our love and hopes which celebrates it? This music of the glad march, these banners of pride and beauty, these memories so fragrant, these resolutions of patriotism so thoughtful, these hands pressed, these congratulations and huzzaings and tears, this great heart throbbing audibly,—are they not hers, and do they not assure us? These forests of masts, these singing workshops of labor, these fields and plantations whitening for the harvest, this peace and plenty, this sleeping thunder, these bolts in the closed, strong talon, do not they tell us of her health, her strength, and her future? This shadow that flits across our grasses and is gone, this shallow ripple that darkens the surface of our broad and widening stream and passes away, this little perturbation which our telescopes cannot find, and which our science can hardly find, but which we know cannot change the course or hasten the doom of one star; have these any terror for us? And He who slumbers not, nor sleeps, who keeps watchfully the city of his love, on whose will the life of nations is suspended, and to whom all the shields of the earth belong, our fathers' God, is he not our God, and of whom, then, and of what shall we be afraid?

DERBY

EDWARD GEORGE GEOFFREY SMITH STANLEY, sixteenth Earl of Derby, was born at Knowsley, Lancashire, March 29, 1799, and died there, October 23, 1869. He was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and entered Parliament in 1820. He did not, however, speak in the House until 1824, when he was heard on various topics and exhibited both strength and skill as a parliamentary debater. He became chief secretary for Ireland, and warmly supported the Reform bill in the stormy parliamentary sessions of the next year or two. In 1833 he was appointed colonial secretary and was both active and eloquent in carrying out the measures for slave emancipation. On account of the position taken by the Whigs on the Irish Church question he left their ranks and during Peel's administration was colonial secretary, 1841-45. Becoming Baron Stanley in 1844, he entered the House of Lords, where he was a recognized leader of the Conservatives as well as one of the most brilliant speakers in the upper House. On the death of his father in 1851 he succeeded to the title of Earl of Derby. He was prime minister from February to December, 1852, and again, 1858-59, and after the resignation of Lord Russell's ministry in June, 1866, was for the third time requested to form a cabinet, and remained premier until his resignation, in February, 1868. The most important event of his third administration was the passage of the Household Suffrage bill. After his resignation he continued to frequent the House of Lords, speaking often and forcibly against the disestablishment of the Irish Church; his oratory, often brilliant and always clear, was logical and impressive. In private life his scholarship was worthy of note, his blank-verse translation of the Iliad and Odyssey being greatly admired for its poetic qualities. He was also the author of "Conversations on the Parables for the Use of Children" (1837). See "Lives" by Kebbel (1890) and "Saintsbury" (1892); Pollard's "The Stanleys of Knowsley" (1888).

SPEECH ON SLAVE EMANCIPATION

I AM aware that we have been often taunted with our ignorance of the negro character; my belief is that any man may inform himself sufficiently on that point, and that we commit a grievous error when we suppose that the moral circumstances attendant upon slavery have so changed the physical character of the negro as to unfit him for freedom. It is a most dangerous error to attribute that to the physical

qualities of the negro which results solely from the moral conditions which slavery has superinduced. It yet remains to be seen whether the negro is less industrious or less anxious to better his condition than other men. We are, however, told to look at the manumitted negroes, and we are taunted with the fact that not twenty negroes of those manumitted have ever returned to field labor. I very much doubt if altogether so many as twenty field negroes have ever been manumitted. From 1817 to the present time it does not appear that above 14,163 were manumitted altogether; three fourths of these were females; and I can have very little difficulty in imagining the motives which led to the manumission of those and to the manumission likewise of their male children. The remaining fourth were made up chiefly of domestic slaves and of mechanics; none of these were brought up to field labor, and it is no matter of surprise that when manumitted they should not have turned to that, the most degrading of the employments in which negroes are engaged.

The whole of this argument amounts to saying that the negroes are not fit for emancipation and that we must wait until they are; and that argument, if it be good for anything, goes too far; for it proceeds to the indefinite conclusion that we must postpone emancipation, not for ten or twenty or thirty years, but to some period no one can say how remote. I know that people will tell me we do not wish to perpetuate slavery—we merely wish to postpone it till the negroes are fit for freedom—till they manifest a disposition for laborious industry sufficient to qualify them for the privileges of free men. That argument, if it proves anything, proves too much. Do men ever show a disposition to labor until population presses upon food; and will that ever take place so long as the depopulating influence of slavery prevails? We are told

that the negroes own no domestic ties; nor will they so long as you keep them in that state of slavery which debases their principles, and which deprives them of foresight, and which takes away from them the motives to industry. The slaves have no education, and you deny them any; for, as slaves, they can have none. They have hitherto been treated as chattels attached to the soil—do you think they can be made fit for freedom till freedom has exercised its influence upon their minds and upon their moral character?

The treatment of the West India negroes is a stain upon a Christian age and upon a country professing itself Christian. If the slaves be made acquainted with religion they must learn that slavery is inconsistent with the Christian religion; and will you shut out religion in order that you may maintain slavery? Other countries have read us a severe lesson upon this subject. In colonies belonging to Catholic countries no man was allowed to possess a slave who did not provide the means of instructing him in the Catholic faith. Be that, however, as it may, this I will say, that this House will ill discharge its duty if it does not forthwith put forth a declaration of religious freedom as respects the colonies and does not compel the local authorities to leave to every negro within their limits the free, independent, and inviolable right of adopting whatever form of Christianity he may think proper.

The next point to which I mean to advert is the evidence of Mr. Dumas, himself a man of color, and who had the best opportunities of forming an opinion upon such subjects; because a case fell under his observation at Antigua of an experiment made upon 371 captured negroes and 36 freehold escheated slaves, which bore directly on this part of the question. If there were any case in which such an experiment could be made under favorable circumstances, it must cer-

tainly be when Africans newly captured and unaccustomed to slavery were to be maintained and regulated according to the manners of the inhabitants of civilized countries. Yet the result of this experiment at Antigua was such as I think the House will say afforded a convincing proof of the fitness of the negro for speedy emancipation. With the exception of a single case of petty larceny, the manumitted slaves had, up to July last, when he left the island, been guilty of no breach of the laws whatever. Their industry, as he stated, was remarkable, as well as the avidity with which they endeavored to obtain the possession of property, and the eagerness with which they copied the dress, the manners, and the speech of the Creoles. In some instances they had even the the advantage of the Creoles; and most of the laborious works at St. Johns were performed by them. They had gone on so prosperously and so diligently in their career of industry that many of them had purchased their own houses; and out of the 371 captured slaves only one man and five women had been returned upon the bounty of the crown; these, too, being induced to do so by medical advice, as no longer able from age or infirmity to gain their own living.

There was a still more remarkable instance of the same kind in the Bahamas. There the slave population was not regarded by themselves, but by the freemen of the islands, as no longer belonging to the class of slaves, but as already half free. A gallant admiral has spoken of what he saw in the Bahamas and in the island of Cuba, where the soil was not only highly cultivated for raising the necessaries of life, but a large quantity of sugar was raised by free labor.

With respect to the case of the inhabitants of St. Domingo, in my mind it proves nothing at all. If we consider the horrors of their long struggle for liberty; if we call to mind

the uncertainty which hung over every species of property; if we remember the driving out of all the capital formerly employed in the cultivation of the island; if we add to these the ruin of every species of manufacture; if, under all these circumstances, the cultivation of sugar had been diminished, it would not be at all surprising. But the House will recollect that though sugar is not extensively exported from St. Domingo, yet sugar is very assiduously cultivated, as well as other necessaries and conveniences of life; and all this is done by the mass of free laborers, working on their own account.

I have a still stronger instance to adduce—the only instance indeed of the gradual emancipation of a slave population on a large scale with complete and entire success; and if I appear to dilate too much upon this topic the House will perhaps excuse me, considering the importance of the subject, when I state that ever since the plan for the emancipation of the West India slaves has been proposed I have had an opportunity of conversing with a person who could give me the most important information on the subject—I mean the president of Venezuela, who in 1821, the year in which the measure of emancipation was first put into operation, was the protector of slaves at Caraccas and consequently had the best possible opportunity of seeing what was done.

In 1821 it was determined by General Bolivar to carry into effect a general measure of emancipation. It had previously been a rule that such slaves as took part in the struggle against Spain should be liberated; but in 1821 it was resolved to proceed upon a general plan. For this purpose a fund was created for the purpose of redeeming the slaves, principally from a tax upon the proceeds of intestate estates. At the same time a tariff of the value of slaves was determined. They then proceeded to redeem the slaves. The older slaves

were first redeemed and those whose redemption cost the smallest sums of money; they next proceeded to purchase such as had the best claims in point of character; and they went on steadily in this course; so that, whereas in 1821 the number of slaves in Venezuela was 100,000, at the time of which I speak they were reduced to 25,000. This is an instance which must be extremely valuable to the House in its discussions upon this subject. Even in Venezuela there was no immediate measure of emancipation. A course was laid down—the certainty was given to the slave of ultimately attaining his freedom—and those who laid down the plan, which has proved so successful, did not fail to persevere in the course which has led to that success. Eager to take advantage of the opportunity thrown into my way by my interview with this gentleman, I put some questions to him upon such topics as seemed likely to afford useful information to me and to the House, for the purpose of directing us in the business of legislation on this important question.

The first objection which struck me against this plan was the jealousy of the unemancipated slaves against their more fortunate brethren. I therefore asked him, "What was the effect upon the minds of those whom you left in slavery at the time when you redeemed the others?" "There was not the slightest jealousy," was his reply, "their condition was not wretched—they had indulgent masters—masters rendered more indulgent by the prospective freedom of their slaves. Still liberty was the object of their wishes; but seeing that they were sure in their turn to reap the same advantages they were content to wait in patience." But as any assumption of superiority on the part of the emancipated slave might have in time destroyed this feeling, I asked a second question: "What effect had the acquisition of freedom upon the eman-

cipated slaves themselves? Did they feel any sense of degradation in mixing with those who had formerly been their companions? Had they any reluctance in joining them in the labors of agriculture?" "None in the least," he said, "if there be any difference between the free laborer and the slave, working on the same estate, it is only that the free laborer works with greater energy." The last question which I put to him was: "What effect had this substitution of free for slave labor upon the agriculture of the country?" "In 1821," he replied, "when the measure first came into operation, agriculture was reduced to the lowest ebb; it is now flourishing." In corroboration of this statement he showed me a letter from the treasurer of Venezuela, a near relation of a gentleman, a member of this House, in which it is stated that in the article of sugar, so far from any deterioration having taken place, the cultivation of it had only begun since 1821. Till there was a free laboring population in Venezuela not a single pound was raised in Venezuela. Now that country has begun to furnish Curacoa with sugar, and Trinidad—the English island of Trinidad—with rum, which is sold as, or declared to be equal to, the best Jamaica rum.

Having thus stated in detail what I conceive to be the real circumstances of the case, having particularized the position in which this country is placed, which renders it impossible upon this point that the legislature should stand still, even if it would; having shown, from the events which have taken place in other colonies, that perseverance in our system is replete with danger; having dwelt upon the facts which are detailed in official documents, and stated the repugnance of the colonial legislature to take any effectual step, either for the immediate or the gradual abolition of slavery; having proved, in my opinion, the absolute and imperative necessity

by which this House is bound to advance calmly, but resolutely and determinedly, to the one great object, the ultimate and complete abolition—to the utter destruction of the last vestige of colonial slavery; having stated all this I now proceed to lay before the House the means by which this great object may, in my judgment, be effected, not without danger (for that can hardly be), but with the least danger that may be.

I will not enter now into all the details of the measure. I will merely show the outline of the measure which I intend to propose—a measure no doubt susceptible of amendments and modifications; for it is impossible that any government can propose a plan, particularly in so complicated a matter, which shall be in every respect unexceptionable, which shall not be liable to many great and grave objections; but the proposed measure is open to the consideration and the judgment of this House and of the country; and our wish is to try, if, by any means, we can reconcile contending interests and conflicting claims; if we can effect that great, that hallowed object—the extinction of slavery throughout every country that owes allegiance to the British crown.

LORD MACAULAY

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, in 1800. His father, Zachary Macaulay, had been Governor of Sierra Leone, and was at the time of his son's birth secretary to the chartered company which had founded that colony. At a very early age the boy gave proof of a decided bent toward literature. He was educated at a private school, and in 1818 went into residence at Trinity College, Cambridge. He secured a fellowship and a prize for an essay on the character of William III. His first attempt at a public speech was made in 1824, and seems to have been remarkably successful. In the following year he contributed the well-known essay on "Milton" to the "Edinburgh Review." In 1826 he was called to the bar, but he spent many more hours under the gallery of the House of Commons than in the courts. Distinguished as he quickly became in literature, it was natural that his thoughts should take the direction of politics. In February, 1830, he obtained a seat in the House of Commons for a pocket borough, and in April of that year made his maiden speech on a bill for the removal of Jewish Disabilities. In March, 1831, he made the first of his reform speeches. Sir Robert Peel said of it that it was as beautiful as anything he had ever heard or read. Macaulay now threw himself with ardor into the life of the House of Commons. On the triumph of Earl Grey's Cabinet, and the passing of the Reform Act in June, 1832, Macaulay became one of the commissioners of the Board of Control for India, and applied himself to the study of Indian affairs. Subsequently he accepted a seat in the Supreme Council of India, a body created by the India Act which he had been instrumental in passing. The salary of the office was fixed at £10,000, an income out of which he hoped to save in five years £30,000. While in India, which he reached in 1834, he drafted a penal code which is still administered throughout the Anglo-Indian Empire. In 1838 he returned to England and re-entered Parliament as member for Edinburgh. In the following year he became Secretary of War with a seat in the Melbourne Cabinet. Two years later the Ministry fell, and left him at liberty to resume his literary work. He returned to office in 1846 as Paymaster-General in Lord John Russell's administration. In 1847 he lost his seat and retired into private life, but in 1852, although he refused a place in the Cabinet, he could not bring himself to decline the compliment paid to him by Edinburgh when it returned him to the House of Commons at the head of the poll. The first two volumes of his "History of England" had appeared in December, 1848; the next two

volumes were published in 1855. In 1857 he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Macaulay of Rothley, but he never spoke in the Upper House. He died in December, 1859, having lived to bring down his history to the death of William III., although the last half-volume lacks the finish and completeness of the earlier portion.

THE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND

DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTION, NOVEMBER 4, 1846

I THANK you, gentlemen, for this cordial reception. I have thought it right to steal a short time from duties not unimportant for the purpose of lending my aid to an undertaking calculated, as I think, to raise the credit and to promote the best interests of the city, which has so many claims on my gratitude.

The directors of our institution have requested me to propose to you as a toast "The Literature of Britain." They could not have assigned to me a more agreeable duty. The chief object of this institution is, I conceive, to impart knowledge through the medium of our own language. Edinburgh is already rich in libraries worthy of her fame as a seat of literature and a seat of jurisprudence. A man of letters can here, without difficulty, obtain access to repositories filled with the wisdom of many ages and of many nations. But something was still wanting. We still wanted a library open to that large, that important, that respectable class which, though by no means destitute of liberal curiosity or of sensibility to literary pleasures, is yet forced to be content with what is written in our own tongue. For that class especially, I do not say exclusively, this library is intended. Our directors, I hope, will not be satisfied—I as a member shall certainly not be satisfied—till we possess a noble and complete collec-

tion of English books—till it is impossible to seek in vain on our shelves for a single English book which is valuable either on account of matter or on account of manner; which throws any light on our civil, ecclesiastical, intellectual, or social history; which, in short, can afford either useful instruction or harmless amusement.

From such a collection, placed within the reach of that large and valuable class which I have mentioned, I am disposed to expect great good. And when I say this, I do not take into the account those rare cases to which my valued friend, the Lord Provost, so happily alluded. It is, indeed, not impossible that some man of genius who may enrich our literature with imperishable eloquence and song, or who may extend the empire of our race over matter, may feel in our reading room, for the first time, the consciousness of powers yet undeveloped. It is not impossible that our volumes may suggest the first thought of something great to some future Burns, or Watt, or Arkwright. But I do not speak of these extraordinary cases. What I confidently anticipate is that, through the whole of that class whose benefit we have peculiarly in view, there will be a moral and intellectual improvement; that many hours, which might otherwise be wasted in folly or in vice, will be employed in pursuits which, while they afford the highest and most lasting pleasure, are not only harmless, but purifying and elevating. My own experience, my own observation, justifies me in entertaining this hope. I have had opportunities, both in this and in other countries, of forming some estimate of the effect which is likely to be produced by a good collection of books on a society of young men. There is, I will venture to say, no judicious commanding officer of a regiment who will not tell

you that the vicinity of a valuable library will improve perceptibly the whole character of a mess. I well knew one eminent military servant of the East India Company, a man of great and various accomplishments, a man honorably distinguished both in war and in diplomacy, a man who enjoyed the confidence of some of the greatest generals and statesmen of our time. When I asked him how, having left his country while still a boy, and having passed his youth at military stations in India, he had been able to educate himself, his answer was, that he had been stationed in the neighborhood of an excellent library, that he had been allowed free access to the books, and that they had, at the most critical time of his life, decided his character, and saved him from being a mere smoking, card-playing, punch-drinking lounger.

Some of the objections which have been made to such institutions as ours have been so happily and completely refuted by my friend, the Lord Provost, and by the Most Reverend Prelate who has honored us with his presence this evening, that it would be idle to say again what has been so well said. There is, however, one objection which, with your permission, I will notice. Some men, of whom I wish to speak with great respect, are haunted, as it seems to me, with an unreasonable fear of what they call superficial knowledge. Knowledge, they say, which really deserves the name, is a great blessing to mankind, the ally of virtue, the harbinger of freedom. But such knowledge must be profound. A crowd of people who have a smattering of mathematics, a smattering of astronomy, a smattering of chemistry, who have read a little poetry and a little history, is dangerous to the commonwealth. Such half knowledge is worse than ignorance. And then the authority of Pope

is vouched. Drink deep or taste not; shallow draughts intoxicate; drink largely and that will sober you. I must confess that the danger which alarms these gentlemen never seemed to me very serious; and my reason is this: that I never could prevail on any person who pronounced superficial knowledge a curse and profound knowledge a blessing to tell me what was his standard of profundity. The argument proceeds on the supposition that there is some line between profound and superficial knowledge similar to that which separates truth from falsehood. I know of no such line. When we talk of men of deep science, do we mean that they have got to the bottom or near the bottom of science? Do we mean that they know all that is capable of being known? Do we mean even that they know, in their own special department, all that the smatterers of the next generation will know? Why, if we compare the little truth that we know with the infinite mass of truth which we do not know, we are all shallow together, and the greatest philosophers that ever lived would be the first to confess their shallowness. If we could call up the first of human beings, if we could call up Newton and ask him whether, even in those sciences in which he had no rival, he considered himself as profoundly knowing, he would have told us that he was but a smatterer like ourselves and that the difference between his knowledge and ours vanished when compared with the quantity of truth still undiscovered, just as the distance between a person at the foot of Ben Lomond and one at the top of Ben Lomond vanishes when compared with the distance of the fixed stars.

It is evident, then, that those who are afraid of superficial knowledge do not mean by superficial knowledge,

knowledge which is superficial when compared with the whole quantity of truth capable of being known. For, in that sense, all human knowledge is, and always has been, and always must be, superficial. What, then, is the standard? Is it the same two years together in any country? Is it the same, at the same moment, in any two countries? Is it not notorious that the profundity of one age is the shallowness of the next; that the profundity of one nation is the shallowness of a neighboring nation? Ramohun Roy passed, among Hindus, for a man of profound Western learning; but he would have been but a very superficial member of this institute. Strabo was justly entitled to be called a profound geographer eighteen hundred years ago; but a teacher of geography who had never heard of America would now be laughed at by the girls of a boarding-school. What would now be thought of the greatest chemist of 1746 or of the greatest geologist of 1746? The truth is that, in all experimental science, mankind is, of necessity, constantly advancing. Every generation, of course, has its front rank and its rear rank; but the rear rank of a later generation occupies the ground which was occupied by the front rank of a former generation.

You remember Gulliver's adventures. First he is shipwrecked in a country of little men, and he is a Colossus among them. He strides over the walls of their capital; he stands higher than the cupola of their great temple; he tugs after him a royal fleet; he stretches his legs, and a royal army, with drums beating and colors flying, marches through the gigantic arch; he devours a whole granary for breakfast, eats a herd of cattle for dinner, and washes down his meal with all the hogsheads of a cellar. In his next voyage he is among men sixty feet high. He who in Liliput used to

take people up in his hand in order that he might be able to hear them, is himself taken up in the hands and held to the ears of his masters. It is all that he can do to defend himself with his hanger against the rats and mice. The court ladies amuse themselves with seeing him fight wasps and frogs; the monkey runs off with him to the chimney top; the dwarf drops him into the cream jug and leaves him to swim for his life. Now, was Gulliver a tall or a short man? Why, in his own house at Rotherhithe, he was thought a man of the ordinary stature. Take him to Liliput, and he is Quinbus Flestrin, the Man Mountain. Take him to Brobdingnag, and he is Grildig, the little Manikin. It is the same in science. The pygmies of one society would have passed for giants in another.

It might be amusing to institute a comparison between one of the profoundly learned men of the thirteenth century and one of the superficial students who will frequent our library. Take the great philosopher of the time of Henry III. of England, or Alexander III. of Scotland, the man renowned all over the island, and even as far as Italy and Spain, as the first of astronomers and chemists. What is his astronomy? He is a firm believer in the Ptolemaic system. He never heard of the law of gravitation. Tell him that the succession of day and night is caused by the turning of the earth on its axis. Tell him that in consequence of this motion, the polar diameter of the earth is shorter than the equatorial diameter. Tell him that the succession of summer and winter is caused by the revolution of the earth round the sun. If he does not set you down for an idiot, he lays an information against you before the bishop and has you burned for a heretic. To do him justice, however, if he is ill informed on these points, there are other

points on which Newton and Laplace were mere children when compared with him. He can cast your nativity. He knows what will happen when Saturn is in the House of Life, and what will happen when Mars is in conjunction with the Dragon's Tail. He can read in the stars whether an expedition will be successful; whether the next harvest will be plentiful; which of your children will be fortunate in marriage, and which will be lost at sea. Happy the state, happy the family, which is guided by the counsels of so profound a man! And what but mischief, public and private, can we expect from the temerity and conceit of sciolists who know no more about the heavenly bodies than what they have learned from Sir John Herschel's beautiful little volume? But, to speak seriously, is not a little truth better than a great deal of falsehood? Is not the man who, in the evenings of a fortnight, has acquired a correct notion of the solar system a more profound astronomer than a man who has passed thirty years in reading lectures about the *primum mobile* and in drawing schemes of horoscopes?

Or take chemistry. Our philosopher of the thirteenth century shall be, if you please, a universal genius, chemist as well as astronomer. He has, perhaps, got so far as to know that if he mix charcoal and saltpetre in certain proportions and then apply fire, there will be an explosion which will shatter all his retorts and aludels; and he is proud of knowing what will, in a later age, be familiar to all the idle boys in the kingdom. But there are departments of science in which he need not fear the rivalry of Black, or Lavoisier, or Cavendish, or Davy. He is in hot pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone, of the stone that is to bestow wealth, and health, and longevity. He has a long array of strangely shaped vessels, filled with red oil and

white oil, constantly boiling. The moment of projection is at hand, and soon all his kettles and gridirons will be turned into pure gold. Poor Professor Faraday can do nothing of the sort. I should deceive you if I held out to you the smallest hope that he will ever turn your halfpence into sovereigns. But if you can induce him to give at our institute a course of lectures such as I once heard him give at the Royal Institution to children in the Christmas holidays, I can promise you that you will know more about the effects produced on bodies by heat and moisture than was known to some alchemists who, in the Middle Ages, were thought worthy of the patronage of kings.

As it has been in science, so it has been in literature. Compare the literary acquirements of the great men of the thirteenth century with those which will be within the reach of many who will frequent our reading-room. As to Greek learning, the profound man of the thirteenth century was absolutely on a par with the superficial man of the nineteenth. In the modern languages, there was not, six hundred years ago, a single volume which is now read. The library of our profound scholar must have consisted entirely of Latin books. We will suppose him to have had both a large and choice collection. We will allow him thirty, nay forty manuscripts, and among them a Virgil, a Terence, a Lucan, an Ovid, a Statius, a great deal of Livy, a great deal of Cicero. In allowing him all this, we are dealing most liberally with him; for it is much more likely that his shelves were filled with treatises on school divinity and canon law, composed by writers whose names the world has very wisely forgotten. But even if we suppose him to have possessed all that is most valuable in the literature of Rome, I say with perfect confidence that, both in respect

of intellectual improvement and in respect of intellectual pleasures, he was far less favorably situated than a man who now, knowing only the English language, has a bookcase filled with the best English works. Our great man of the Middle Ages could not form any conception of any tragedy approaching "Macbeth" or "Lear," or of any comedy equal to "Henry IV." or "Twelfth Night." The best epic poem that he had read was far inferior to the "Paradise Lost"; and all the tomes of his philosophers were not worth a page of the "Novum Organum."

The "Novum Organum," it is true, persons who know only English must read in a translation, and this reminds me of one great advantage which such persons will derive from our institution. They will, in our library, be able to form some acquaintance with the master minds of remote ages and foreign countries. A large part of what is best worth knowing in ancient literature, and in the literature of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, has been translated into our own tongue. It is scarcely possible that the translation of any book of the highest class can be equal to the original. But, though the finer touches may be lost in the copy, the great outlines will remain. An Englishman who never saw the frescoes in the Vatican may yet, from engravings, form some notion of the exquisite grace of Raphael and of the sublimity and energy of Michelangelo. And so the genius of Homer is seen in the poorest version of the "Iliad"; the genius of Cervantes is seen in the poorest version of "Don Quixote." Let it not be supposed that I wish to dissuade any person from studying either the ancient languages or the languages of modern Europe. Far from it. I prize most highly those keys of knowledge, and I think that no man who has leisure for

study ought to be content until he possesses several of them. I have always much admired a saying of the Emperor Charles V.—"When I learn a new language, I feel as if I had got a new soul." But I would console those who have not time to make themselves linguists, by assuring them that, by means of their own mother tongue, they may obtain ready access to vast intellectual treasures, to treasures such as might have been envied by the greatest linguists of the age of Charles V., to treasures surpassing those which were possessed by Aldus, by Erasmus, and by Melanchthon.

And thus I am brought back to the point from which I started. I have been requested to invite you to fill your glasses to the Literature of Britain; to that literature, the brightest, the purest, the most durable of all the glories of our country; to that literature, so rich in precious truth and precious fiction; to that literature which boasts of the prince of all poets and of the prince of all philosophers; to that literature which has exercised an influence wider than that of our commerce, and mightier than that of our arms; to that literature which has taught France the principles of liberty, and has furnished Germany with models of art; to that literature which forms a tie closer than the tie of consanguinity between us and the commonwealths of the Valley of the Mississippi; to that literature before the light of which impious and cruel superstitions are fast taking flight on the banks of the Ganges; to that literature which will, in future ages, instruct and delight the unborn millions who will have turned the Australasian and Caffrarian deserts into cities and gardens. To the Literature of Britain, then! And, wherever British literature spreads, may it be attended by British virtue and by British freedom!

SPEECH ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 2, 1831

IT IS a circumstance, sir, of happy augury for the motion before the House, that almost all those who have opposed it have declared themselves hostile on principle to parliamentary reform. Two members, I think, have confessed that, though they disapprove of the plan now submitted to us, they are forced to admit the necessity of a change in the representative system. Yet even those gentlemen have used, as far as I have observed, no arguments which would not apply as strongly to the most moderate change as to that which has been proposed by his Majesty's government. I say, sir, that I consider this as a circumstance of happy augury. For what I feared was not the opposition of those who are averse to all reform, but the disunion of reformers. I knew that, during three months, every reformer had been employed in conjecturing what the plan of the government would be. I knew that every reformer had imagined in his own mind a scheme differing doubtless in some points from that which my noble friend, the paymaster of the forces, has developed. I felt, therefore, great apprehension that one person would be dissatisfied with one part of the bill, that another person would be dissatisfied with another part, and that thus our whole strength would be wasted in internal dissensions. That apprehension is now at an end. I have seen with delight the perfect concord which prevails among all who deserve the name of reformers in this House; and I trust that I may consider it as an omen of the concord which will prevail among reformers

throughout the country. I will not, sir, at present express any opinion as to the details of the bill; but, having during the last twenty-four hours given the most diligent consideration to its general principles, I have no hesitation in pronouncing it a wise, noble, and comprehensive measure, skilfully framed for the healing of great distempers, for the securing at once of the public liberties and of the public repose, and for the reconciling and knitting together of all the orders of the state.

The honorable baronet who has just sat down[1] has told us that the ministers have attempted to unite two inconsistent principles in one abortive measure. Those were his very words. He thinks, if I understand him rightly, that we ought either to leave the representative system such as it is, or to make it perfectly symmetrical. I think, sir, that the ministers would have acted unwisely if they had taken either course. Their principle is plain, rational, and consistent. It is this, to admit the middle class to a large and direct share in the representation, without any violent shock to the institutions of our country. I understand those cheers; but surely the gentlemen who utter them will allow that the change which will be made in our institutions by this bill is far less violent than that which, according to the honorable baronet, ought to be made if we make any reform at all. I praise the ministers for not attempting at the present time to make the representation uniform. I praise them for not effacing the old distinction between the towns and the counties, and for not assigning members to districts, according to the American practice, by the rule of three. The government has, in my opinion, done all that was necessary for the removing of a great practical evil, and no more than was necessary.

I consider this, sir, as a practical question. I rest my opin-

ion on no general theory of government. I distrust all general theories of government. I will not positively say that there is any form of polity which may not, in some conceivable circumstances, be the best possible. I believe that there are societies in which every man may safely be admitted to vote. Gentlemen may cheer, but such is my opinion. I say, sir, that there are countries in which the condition of the laboring classes is such that they may safely be intrusted with the right of electing members of the legislature. If the laborers of England were in that state in which I, from my soul, wish to see them, if employment were always plentiful, wages always high, food always cheap, if a large family were considered not as an encumbrance but as a blessing, the principal objections to universal suffrage would, I think, be removed. Universal suffrage exists in the United States without producing any very frightful consequences; and I do not believe that the people of those States, or of any part of the world, are in any good quality naturally superior to our own countrymen. But, unhappily, the laboring classes in England, and in all old countries, are occasionally in a state of great distress. Some of the causes of this distress are, I fear, beyond the control of the government. We know what effect distress produces, even on people more intelligent than the great body of the laboring classes can possibly be. We know that it makes even wise men irritable, unreasonable, credulous, eager for immediate relief, heedless of remote consequences. There is no quackery in medicine, religion, or politics which may not impose even on a powerful mind, when that mind has been disordered by pain or fear. It is, therefore, no reflection on the poorer class of Englishmen, who are not, and who cannot in the nature of things, be highly educated, to say that distress produces on them its natural effects, those effects which

it would produce on the Americans, or on any other people, that it blinds their judgment, that it inflames their passions, that it makes them prone to believe those who flatter them and to distrust those who would serve them. For the sake, therefore, of the whole society, for the sake of the laboring classes themselves, I hold it to be clearly expedient that, in a country like this, the right of suffrage should depend on a pecuniary qualification.

But, sir, every argument which would induce me to oppose universal suffrage induces me to support the plan which is now before us. I am opposed to universal suffrage because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this plan because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution. The noble paymaster of the forces hinted, delicately indeed and remotely, at this subject. He spoke of the danger of disappointing the expectations of the nation; and for this he was charged with threatening the House. Sir, in the year 1817, the late Lord Londonderry proposed a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. On that occasion he told the House that, unless the measures which he recommended were adopted, the public peace could not be preserved. Was he accused of threatening the House? Again, in the year 1819, he proposed the laws known by the name of the Six Acts. He then told the House that unless the executive power were reinforced all the institutions of the country would be overturned by popular violence. Was he then accused of threatening the House? Will any gentleman say that it is parliamentary and decorous to urge the danger arising from popular discontent as an argument for severity; but that it is unparliamentary and indecorous to urge that same danger as an argument for conciliation? I, sir, do entertain great apprehension for the fate of my country. I do in my conscience believe that, un-

less the plan proposed, or some similar plan, be speedily adopted, great and terrible calamities will befall us. Entertaining this opinion, I think myself bound to state it, not as a threat, but as a reason. I support this bill because it will improve our institutions; but I support it also because it tends to preserve them. That we may exclude those whom it is necessary to exclude, we must admit those whom it may be safe to admit. At present we oppose the schemes of revolutionists with only one half, with only one quarter of our proper force. We say, and we say justly, that it is not by mere numbers, but by property and intelligence, that the nation ought to be governed. Yet, saying this, we exclude from all share in the government great masses of property and intelligence, great numbers of those who are most interested in preserving tranquillity, and who know best how to preserve it. We do more. We drive over to the side of revolution those whom we shut out from power. Is this a time when the cause of law and order can spare one of its natural allies?

My noble friend, the Paymaster of the Forces, happily described the effect which some parts of our representative system would produce on the mind of a foreigner who had heard much of our freedom and greatness. If, sir, I wished to make such a foreigner clearly understand what I consider as the great defects of our system, I would conduct him through that immense city which lies to the north of Great Russell Street and Oxford Street, a city superior in size and in population to the capitals of many mighty kingdoms; and probably superior in opulence, intelligence, and general respectability to any city in the world. I would conduct him through that interminable succession of streets and squares, all consisting of well-built and well-furnished houses. I would make him ob-

serve the brilliancy of the shops and the crowd of well-appointed equipages. I would show him that magnificent circle of palaces which surround the Regent's Park. I would tell him that the rental of this district was far greater than that of the whole kingdom of Scotland at the time of the union. And then I would tell him that this was an unrepresented district. It is needless to give any more instances. It is needless to speak of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, with no representation, or of Edinburgh and Glasgow with a mock representation. If a property tax were now imposed on the principle that no person who had less than a hundred and fifty pounds a year should contribute, I should not be surprised to find that one half in number and value of the contributors had no votes at all; and it would, beyond all doubt, be found that one fiftieth part in number and value of the contributors had a larger share of the representation than the other forty-nine fiftieths. This is not government by property. It is government by certain detached portions and fragments of property, selected from the rest, and preferred to the rest, on no rational principle whatever.

To say that such a system is ancient is no defence. My honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford[1] challenges us to show that the constitution was ever better than it is. Sir, we are legislators, not antiquaries. The question for us is, not whether the constitution was better formerly, but whether we can make it better now. In fact, however, the system was not in ancient times by any means so absurd as it is in our age. One noble lord[2] has to-night told us that the town of Aldborough, which he represents, was not larger in the time of Edward I than it is at present.

[1] Sir Robert Harry Inglis. [2] Lord Stormont.

The line of its walls, he assures us, may still be traced. It is now built up to that line. He argues, therefore, that as the founders of our representative institutions gave members to Aldborough when it was as small as it now is, those who would disfranchise it on account of its smallness have no right to say that they are recurring to the original principle of our representative institutions. But does the noble lord remember the change which has taken place in the country during the last five centuries? Does he remember how much England has grown in population while Aldborough has been standing still? Does he consider that in the time of Edward I the kingdom did not contain two millions of inhabitants? It now contains nearly fourteen millions. A hamlet of the present day would have been a town of some importance in the time of our early Parliaments. Aldborough may be absolutely as considerable a place as ever. But compared with the kingdom, it is much less considerable, by the noble lord's own showing, than when it first elected burgesses. My honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford has collected numerous instances of the tyranny which the kings and nobles anciently exercised, both over this House and over the electors. It is not strange that, in times when nothing was held sacred, the rights of the people, and of the representatives of the people, should not have been held sacred. The proceedings which my honorable friend has mentioned no more prove that by the ancient constitution of the realm this House ought to be a tool of the king and of the aristocracy than the benevolences and the ship-money prove their own legality, or than those unjustifiable arrests which took place long after the ratification of the great charter and even after the Petition of Right prove that the subject was not anciently entitled to his personal liberty. We talk of the wisdom of our ancestors;

and in one respect at least they were wiser than we. They legislated for their own times. They looked at the England which was before them. They did not think it necessary to give twice as many members to York as they gave to London, because York had been the capital of Britain in the time of Constantius Chlorus; and they would have been amazed indeed if they had foreseen that a city of more than a hundred thousand inhabitants would be left without representatives in the nineteenth century, merely because it stood on ground which in the thirteenth century had been occupied by a few huts. They framed a representative system which, though not without defects and irregularities, was well adapted to the state of England in their time. But a great revolution took place. The character of the old corporations changed. New forms of property came into existence. New portions of society rose into importance. There were in our rural districts rich cultivators who were not freeholders. There were in our capital rich traders who were not livery-men. Towns shrank into villages. Villages swelled into cities larger than the London of the Plantagenets. Unhappily while the natural growth of society went on, the artificial polity continued unchanged. The ancient form of the representation remained; and precisely because the form remained, the spirit departed. Then came that pressure almost to bursting, the new wine in the old bottles, the new society under the old institutions. It is now time for us to pay a decent, a rational, a manly reverence to our ancestors, not by superstitiously adhering to what they, in other circumstances, did, but by doing what they, in our circumstances, would have done. All history is full of revolutions, produced by causes similar to those which are now operating in England. A portion of the community which had been of no account expands and becomes strong. It de-

mands a place in the system suited, not to its former weakness, but to its present power. If this be granted, all is well. If this is refused, then comes the struggle between the young energy of one class and the ancient privileges of another. Such was the struggle between the plebeians and the patricians of Rome. Such was the struggle of the Italian allies for admission to the full rights of Roman citizens. Such was the struggle of our North American colonies against the mother country. Such was the struggle which the Third Estate of France maintained against the aristocracy of birth. Such was the struggle which the Roman Catholics of Ireland maintained against the aristocracy of creed. Such is the struggle which the free people of color in Jamaica are now maintaining against the aristocracy of skin. Such, finally, is the struggle which the middle classes in England are maintaining against an aristocracy of mere locality, against an aristocracy the principle of which is to invest a hundred drunken potwallopers in one place, or the owner of a ruined hovel in another, with powers which are withheld from cities renowned to the farthest ends of the earth for the marvels of their wealth and of their industry.

But these great cities, says my honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford, are virtually, though not directly, represented. Are not the wishes of Manchester, he asks, as much consulted as those of any town which sends members to Parliament? Now, sir, I do not understand how a power which is salutary when exercised virtually can be noxious when exercised directly. If the wishes of Manchester have as much weight with us as they would have under a system which should give representatives to Manchester, how can there be any danger in giving representatives to Manchester? A virtual representative is, I presume, a man who acts as a

direct representative would act; for surely it would be absurd to say that a man virtually represents the people of Manchester who is in the habit of saying No when a man directly representing the people of Manchester would say Ay. The utmost that can be expected from virtual representation is that it may be as good as direct representation. If so, why not grant direct representation to places which, as everybody allows, ought, by some process or other, to be represented?

If it be said that there is an evil in change as change, I answer that there is also an evil in discontent as discontent. This, indeed, is the strongest part of our case. It is said that the system works well. I deny it. I deny that a system works well which the people regard with aversion. We may say here that it is a good system and a perfect system. But if any man were to say so to any six hundred and fifty-eight respectable farmers or shopkeepers, chosen by lot in any part of England, he would be hooted down and laughed to scorn. Are these the feelings with which any part of the government ought to be regarded? Above all, are these the feelings with which the popular branch of the legislature ought to be regarded? It is almost as essential to the utility of a House of Commons that it should possess the confidence of the people as that it should deserve that confidence. Unfortunately that which is in theory the popular part of our government is in practice the unpopular part. Who wishes to dethrone the king? Who wishes to turn the lords out of their House? Here and there a crazy radical, whom the boys in the street point at as he walks along. Who wishes to alter the constitution of this House? The whole people. It is natural that it should be so. The House of Commons is, in the language of Mr. Burke, a check, not on the people, but for the people.

While that check is efficient, there is no reason to fear that the king or the nobles will oppress the people. But if that check requires checking, how is it to be checked? If the salt shall lose its savor, wherewith shall we season it? The distrust with which the nation regards this House may be unjust. But what then? Can you remove that distrust? That it exists cannot be denied. That it is an evil cannot be denied. That it is an increasing evil cannot be denied. One gentleman tells us that it has been produced by the late events in France and Belgium; another, that it is the effect of seditious works which have lately been published. If this feeling be of origin so recent, I have read history to little purpose. Sir, this alarming discontent is not the growth of a day or of a year. If there be any symptoms by which it is possible to distinguish the chronic diseases of the body politic from its passing inflammations, all those symptoms exist in the present case. The taint has been gradually becoming more extensive and more malignant, through the whole lifetime of two generations. We have tried anodynes. We have tried cruel operations. What are we to try now? Who flatters himself that he can turn this feeling back? Does there remain any argument which escaped the comprehensive intellect of Mr. Burke, or the subtlety of Mr. Windham? Does there remain any species of coercion which was not tried by Mr. Pitt and by Lord Londonderry? We have had laws. We have had blood. New treasons have been created. The press has been shackled. The Habeas Corpus Act has been suspended. Public meetings have been prohibited. The event has proved that these expedients were mere palliatives. You are at the end of your palliatives. The evil remains. It is more formidable than ever. What is to be done?

Under such circumstances a great plan of reconciliation,

prepared by the ministers of the crown, has been brought before us in a manner which gives additional lustre to a noble name inseparably associated during two centuries with the dearest liberties of the English people. I will not say that this plan is in all its details precisely such as I might wish it to be; but it is founded on a great and a sound principle. It takes away a vast power from a few. It distributes that power through the great mass of the middle order. Every man, therefore, who thinks as I think is bound to stand firmly by ministers who are resolved to stand or fall with this measure. Were I one of them I would sooner, infinitely sooner, fall with such a measure than stand by any other means that ever supported a cabinet.

My honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford tells us that if we pass this law England will soon be a republic. The reformed House of Commons will, according to him, before it has sat ten years, depose the king and expel the lords from their House. Sir, if my honorable friend could prove this, he would have succeeded in bringing an argument for democracy infinitely stronger than any that is to be found in the works of Paine. My honorable friend's proposition is in fact this: that our monarchical and aristocratical institutions have no hold on the public mind of England; that these institutions are regarded with aversion by a majority of the middle class. This, sir, I say, is plainly deducible from his proposition; for he tells us that the representatives of the middle class will inevitably abolish royalty and nobility within ten years; and there is surely no reason to think that the representatives of the middle class will be more inclined to a democratic revolution than their constituents. Now, sir, if I were convinced that the great body of the middle class in England look with aversion on monarchy

and aristocracy, I should be forced, much against my will, to come to this conclusion, that monarchical and aristocratical institutions are unsuited to my country. Monarchy and aristocracy, valuable and useful as I think them, are still valuable and useful as means, and not as ends. The end of government is the happiness of the people; and I do not conceive that in a country like this the happiness of the people can be promoted by a form of government in which the middle classes place no confidence, and which exists only because the middle classes have no organ by which to make their sentiments known. But, sir, I am fully convinced that the middle classes sincerely wish to uphold the royal prerogatives and the constitutional rights of the peers. What facts does my honorable friend produce in support of his opinion? One fact only; and that a fact which has absolutely nothing to do with the question. The effect of this reform, he tells us, would be to make the House of Commons all-powerful. It was all-powerful once before, in the beginning of 1649. Then it cut off the head of the king and abolished the House of Peers. Therefore if it again has the supreme power, it will act in the same manner. Now, sir, it was not the House of Commons that cut off the head of Charles the First; nor was the House of Commons then all-powerful. It had been greatly reduced in numbers by successive expulsions. It was under the absolute dominion of the army. A majority of the House was willing to take the terms offered by the king. The soldiers turned out the majority; and the minority, not a sixth part of the whole House, passed those votes of which my honorable friend speaks, votes of which the middle classes disapproved then, and of which they disapprove still.

My honorable friend, and almost all the gentlemen who have taken the same side with him in this debate, have dwelt

much on the utility of close and rotten boroughs. It is by means of such boroughs, they tell us, that the ablest men have been introduced into Parliament. It is true that many distinguished persons have represented places of this description. But, sir, we must judge of a form of government by its general tendency, not by happy accidents. Every form of government has its happy accidents. Despotism has its happy accidents. Yet we are not disposed to abolish all constitutional checks, to place an absolute master over us, and to take our chance whether he may be a Caligula or a Marcus Aurelius. In whatever way the House of Commons may be chosen, some able men will be chosen in that way who would not be chosen in any other way. If there were a law that the hundred tallest men in England should be members of Parliament, there would probably be some able men among those who would come into the House by virtue of this law. If the hundred persons whose names stand first in the alphabetical list of the Court Guide were made members of Parliament, there would probably be able men among them. We read in ancient history that a very able king was elected by the neighing of his horse; but we shall scarcely, I think, adopt this mode of election. In one of the most celebrated republics of antiquity, Athens, senators and magistrates were chosen by lot; and sometimes the lot fell fortunately. Once, for example, Socrates was in office. A cruel and unjust proposition was made by a demagogue. Socrates resisted it at the hazard of his own life. There is no event in Grecian history more interesting than that memorable resistance. Yet who would have officers appointed by lot because the accident of the lot may have given to a great and good man a power which he would probably never have attained in any other way? We must judge, as I said, by the general tendency of a system.

No person can doubt that a House of Commons chosen freely by the middle classes will contain many very able men. I do not say that precisely the same able men who would find their way into the present House of Commons will find their way into the reformed House; but that is not the question. No particular man is necessary to the state. We may depend on it that if we provide the country with popular institutions, those institutions will provide it with great men.

There is another objection which, I think, was first raised by the honorable and learned member for Newport.[1] He tells us that the elective franchise is property; that to take it away from a man who has not been judicially convicted of malpractices is robbery; that no crime is proved against the voters in the close boroughs; that no crime is even imputed to them in the preamble of the bill; and that therefore to disfranchise them without compensation would be an act of revolutionary tyranny. The honorable and learned gentleman has compared the conduct of the present ministers to that of those odious tools of power who, toward the close of the reign of Charles the Second, seized the charters of the Whig corporations. Now, there was another precedent, which I wonder that he did not recollect, both because it is much more nearly in point than that to which he referred, and because my noble friend, the Paymaster of the Forces, had previously alluded to it. If the elective franchise is property, if to disfranchise voters without a crime proved, or a compensation given be robbery, was there ever such an act of robbery as the disfranchising of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders? Was any pecuniary compensation given to them? Is it declared in the preamble of the bill which took away their franchise that they had been convicted of any offence? Was any judicial inquiry

[1] Mr. Horace Twiss.

instituted into their conduct? Were they even accused of any crime? Or if you say that it was a crime in the electors of Clare to vote for the honorable and learned gentleman who now represents the county of Waterford, was a Protestant freeholder in Louth to be punished for the crime of a Catholic freeholder in Clare? If the principle of the honorable and learned member for Newport be sound, the franchise of the Irish peasant was property. That franchise the ministers under whom the honorable and learned member held office did not scruple to take away. Will he accuse those ministers of robbery? If not, how can he bring such an accusation against their successors?

Every gentleman, I think, who has spoken from the other side of the House has alluded to the opinions which some of his Majesty's ministers formerly entertained on the subject of reform. It would be officious in me, sir, to undertake the defence of gentlemen who are so well able to defend themselves. I will only say that, in my opinion, the country will not think worse either of their capacity or of their patriotism because they have shown that they can profit by experience, because they have learned to see the folly of delaying inevitable changes. There are others who ought to have learned the same lesson. I say, sir, that there are those who I should have thought must have had enough to last them all their lives of that humiliation which follows obstinate and boastful resistance to changes rendered necessary by the progress of society, and by the development of the human mind. Is it possible that those persons can wish again to occupy a position which can neither be defended nor surrendered with honor? I well remember, sir, a certain evening in the month of May, 1827. I had not then the honor of a seat in this House, but I was an attentive observer of its proceedings. The right

honorable baronet opposite, of whom personally I desire to speak with that high respect which I feel for his talents and his character, but of whose public conduct I must speak with the sincerity required by my public duty, was then, as he is now, out of office. He had just resigned the seals of the Home Department because he conceived that the recent ministerial arrangements had been too favorable to the Catholic claims. He rose to ask whether it was the intention of the new cabinet to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and to reform the Parliament. He bound up, I well remember, those two questions together; and he declared that if the ministers should either attempt to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, or bring forward a measure of parliamentary reform, he should think it his duty to oppose them to the utmost. Since that declaration was made four years have elapsed; and what is now the state of the three questions which then chiefly agitated the minds of men? What is become of the Test and Corporation Acts? They are repealed. By whom? By the right honorable baronet. What has become of the Catholic disabilities? They are removed. By whom? By the right honorable baronet. The question of parliamentary reform is still behind. But signs, of which it is impossible to misconceive the import, do most clearly indicate that unless that question also be speedily settled, property and order, and all the institutions of this great monarchy, will be exposed to fearful peril. Is it possible that gentlemen long versed in high political affairs cannot read these signs? Is it possible that they can really believe that the representative system of England, such as it now is, will last to the year 1860? If not, for what would they have us wait? Would they have us wait merely that we may show to all the world how little we

[1] Sir Robert Peel.

have profited by our own recent experience? Would they have us wait that we may once again hit the exact point where we can neither refuse with authority nor concede with grace? Would they have us wait that the numbers of the discontented party may become larger, its demands higher, its feelings more acrimonious, its organization more complete? Would they have us wait till the whole tragi-comedy of 1827 has been acted over again; till they have been brought into office by a cry of "No Reform," to be reformers, as they were once before brought into office by a cry of "No Popery," to be emancipators? Have they obliterated from their minds—gladly, perhaps, would some among them obliterate from their minds—the transactions of that year? And have they forgotten all the transactions of the succeeding year? Have they forgotten how the spirit of liberty in Ireland, debarred from its natural outlet, found a vent by forbidden passages? Have they forgotten how we were forced to indulge the Catholics in all the licence of rebels, merely because we chose to withhold from them the liberties of subjects? Do they wait for associations more formidable than that of the Corn Exchange, for contributions larger than the rent, for agitators more violent than those who, three years ago, divided with the king and the Parliament the sovereignty of Ireland? Do they wait for that last and most dreadful paroxysm of popular rage, for that last and most cruel test of military fidelity? Let them wait, if their past experience shall induce them to think that any high honor or any exquisite pleasure is to be obtained by a policy like this. Let them wait, if this strange and fearful infatuation be indeed upon them, that they should not see with their eyes, or hear with their ears, or understand with their heart. But let us know our interest and our duty better. Turn where we may, within, around, the voice of

great events is proclaiming to us, Reform, that you may preserve. Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding in our ears; now, while the roof of a British palace affords an ignominious shelter to the exiled heir of forty kings; now, while we see on every side ancient institutions subverted and great societies dissolved; now, while the heart of England is still sound; now, while old feelings and old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away; now, in this your accepted time; now, in this your day of salvation, take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time. Pronounce in a manner worthy of the expectation with which this great debate has been anticipated, and of the long remembrance which it will leave behind. Renew the youth of the state. Save property, divided against itself. Save the multitude, endangered by its own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest and fairest and most highly civilized community that ever existed from calamities which may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible. The time is short. If this bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing remorse amidst the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order.

JEWISH DISABILITIES

[On the 17th of April, 1833, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee to consider the civil disabilities of the Jews. Mr. Warburton took the chair. Mr. Robert Grant moved the following resolution: "That it is the opinion of this committee that it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing with respect to his Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions as are provided with respect to his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion." The resolution passed without a division, after a warm debate, in the course of which the following speech was made:]

MR. WARBURTON,—I recollect, and my honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford will recollect, that, when this subject was discussed three years ago, it was remarked, by one whom we both loved and whom we both regret, that the strength of the case of the Jews was a serious inconvenience to their advocate, for that it was hardly possible to make a speech for them without wearying the audience by repeating truths which were universally admitted. If Sir James Mackintosh felt this difficulty when the question was first brought forward in this House, I may well despair of being able now to offer any arguments which have a pretence to novelty.

My honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford began his speech by declaring that he had no intention of calling in question the principles of religious liberty. He utterly disclaims persecution, that is to say, persecution as defined by himself. It would, in his opinion, be persecution to hang a Jew, or to flay him, or to draw his teeth, or to imprison him, or to fine him; for every man who conducts himself peaceably has a right to his life and his limbs, to his personal liberty and his property. But it is not persecution, says my honorable friend, to exclude any individual or any class

from office; for nobody has a right to office; in every country official appointments must be subject to such regulations as the supreme authority may choose to make; nor can any such regulations be reasonably complained of by any member of the society as unjust. He who obtains an office obtains it, not as matter of right, but as matter of favor. He who does not obtain an office is not wronged; he is only in that situation in which the vast majority of every community must necessarily be. There are in the United Kingdom five and twenty million Christians without places, and, if they do not complain, why should five and twenty thousand Jews complain of being in the same case? In this way my honorable friend has convinced himself that, as it would be most absurd in him and me to say that we are wronged because we are not secretaries of state, so it is most absurd in the Jews to say they are wronged because they are, as a people, excluded from public employment.

Now, surely my honorable friend cannot have considered to what conclusions his reasoning leads. Those conclusions are so monstrous that he would, I am certain, shrink from them. Does he really mean that it would not be wrong in the legislature to enact that no man should be a judge unless he weighed twelve stone, or that no man should sit in Parliament unless he were six feet high? We are about to bring in a bill for the government of India. Suppose that we were to insert in that bill a clause providing that no graduate of the University of Oxford should be governor-general or governor of any presidency, would not my honorable friend cry out against such a clause as most unjust to the learned body which he represents? And would he think himself sufficiently answered by being told, in his own words, that the appointment to office is a mere matter of favor, and that to exclude an individual or a class

from office is no injury? Surely, on consideration, he must admit that official appointments ought not to be subject to regulations purely arbitrary, to regulations for which no reason can be given but mere caprice, and that those who would exclude any class from public employment are bound to show some special reason for the exclusion.

My honorable friend has appealed to us as Christians. Let me then ask him how he understands that great commandment which comprises the law and the prophets. Can we be said to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us if we wantonly inflict on them even the smallest pain? As Christians surely we are bound to consider first whether, by excluding the Jews from all public trust, we give them pain; and, secondly, whether it be necessary to give them that pain in order to avert some greater evil. That by excluding them from public trust we inflict pain on them my honorable friend will not dispute. As a Christian, therefore, he is bound to relieve them from that pain unless he can show, what I am sure he has not yet shown, that it is necessary to the general good that they should continue to suffer.

But where, he says, are you to stop if once you admit into the House of Commons people who deny the authority of the Gospels? Will you let in a Mussulman? Will you let in a Parsee? Will you let in a Hindoo, who worships a lump of stone with seven heads? I will answer my honorable friend's question by another. Where does he mean to stop? Is he ready to roast unbelievers at slow fires? If not, let him tell us why; and I will engage to prove that his reason is just as decisive against the intolerance which he thinks a duty as against the intolerance which he thinks a crime. Once admit that we are bound to inflict pain on a man because he is not of our religion; and where are you to stop? Why stop at the

point fixed by my honorable friend rather than at the point fixed by the honorable member for Oldham,[1] who would make the Jews incapable of holding land? And why stop at the point fixed by the honorable member for Oldham rather than at the point which would have been fixed by a Spanish inquisitor of the sixteenth century? When once you enter on a course of persecution I defy you to find any reason for making a halt till you have reached the extreme point. When my honorable friend tells us that he will allow the Jews to possess property to any amount, but that he will not allow them to possess the smallest political power, he holds contradictory language. Property is power. The honorable member for Oldham reasons better than my honorable friend. The honorable member for Oldham sees very clearly that it is impossible to deprive a man of political power if you suffer him to be the proprietor of half a county, and therefore very consistently proposes to confiscate the landed estates of the Jews. But even the honorable member for Oldham does not go far enough. He has not proposed to confiscate the personal property of the Jews. Yet it is perfectly certain that any Jew who has a million may easily make himself very important in the state. By such steps we pass from official power to landed property, and from landed property to personal property, and from property to liberty, and from liberty to life. In truth those persecutors who use the rack and the stake have much to say for themselves. They are convinced that their end is good; and it must be admitted that they employ means which are not unlikely to attain the end. Religious dissent has repeatedly been put down by sanguinary persecution. In that way the Albigenses were put down. In that way Protestantism was

[1] Mr. Cobbett.

suppressed in Spain and Italy, so that it has never since reared its head. But I defy anybody to produce an instance in which disabilities such as we are now considering have produced any other effect than that of making the sufferers angry and obstinate. My honorable friend should either persecute to some purpose or not persecute at all. He dislikes the word "persecution," I know. He will not admit that the Jews are persecuted. And yet I am confident that he would rather be sent to the King's Bench prison for three months, or be fined a hundred pounds, than be subject to the disabilities under which the Jews lie. How can he then say that to impose such disabilities is not persecution, and that to fine and imprison is persecution? All his reasoning consists in drawing arbitrary lines. What he does not wish to inflict he calls persecution. What he does wish to inflict he will not call persecution. What he takes from the Jews he calls political power. What he is too good-natured to take from the Jews he will not call political power. The Jew must not sit in Parliament; but he may be the proprietor of all the ten-pound houses in a borough. He may have more fifty-pound tenants than any peer in the kingdom. He may give the voters treats to please their palates, and hire bands of gypsies to break their heads, as if he were a Christian and a marquess. All the rest of this system is of a piece. The Jew may be a juryman, but not a judge. He may decide issues of fact, but not issues of law. He may give a hundred thousand pounds damages; but he may not in the most trivial case grant a new trial. He may rule the money market; he may influence the exchanges; he may be summoned to congresses of emperors and kings. Great potentates, instead of negotiating a loan with him by tying him in a chair and pulling out his grinders, may treat with him as with a great potentate, and may postpone the declaring of war or the sign-

ing of a treaty till they have conferred with him. All this is as it should be; but he must not be a privy councillor. He must not be called right honorable, for that is political power. And who is it that we are trying to cheat in this way? Even Omniscience. Yes, sir; we have been gravely told that the Jews are under the divine displeasure, and that if we give them political power God will visit us in judgment. Do we then think that God cannot distinguish between substance and form? Does not he know that, while we withhold from the Jews the semblance and name of political power, we suffer them to possess the substance? The plain truth is that my honorable friend is drawn in one direction by his opinions and in a directly opposite direction by his excellent heart. He halts between two opinions. He tries to make a compromise between principles which admit of no compromise. He goes a certain way in intolerance. Then he stops, without being able to give a reason for stopping. But I know the reason. It is his humanity. Those who formerly dragged the Jew at a horse's tail, and singed his beard with blazing furze-bushes, were much worse men than my honorable friend; but they were more consistent than he.

It has been said that it would be monstrous to see a Jew judge try a man for blasphemy. In my opinion it is monstrous to see any judge try a man for blasphemy under the present law. But if the law on that subject were in a sound state I do not see why a conscientious Jew might not try a blasphemer. Every man, I think, ought to be at liberty to discuss the evidences of religion; but no man ought to be at liberty to force on the unwilling ears and eyes of others sounds and sights which must cause annoyance and irritation. The distinction is clear. I think it wrong to punish a man for selling Paine's "Age of Reason" in a back shop to those who

choose to buy, or for delivering a deistical lecture in a private room to those who choose to listen. But if a man exhibits at a window in the Strand a hideous caricature of that which is an object of awe and adoration to nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of the people who pass up and down that great thoroughfare; if a man, in a place of public resort, applies opprobrious epithets to names held in reverence by all Christians; such a man ought, in my opinion, to be severely punished, not for differing from us in opinion, but for committing a nuisance which gives us pain and disgust. He is no more entitled to outrage our feelings by obtruding his impiety on us, and to say that he is exercising his right of discussion, than to establish a yard for butchering horses close to our houses and to say that he is exercising his right of property, or to run naked up and down the public streets and to say that he is exercising his right of locomotion. He has a right of discussion, no doubt, as he has a right of property and a right of locomotion. But he must use all his rights so as not to infringe the rights of others.

These, sir, are the principles on which I would frame the law of blasphemy; and, if the law were so framed, I am at a loss to understand why a Jew might not enforce it as well as a Christian. I am not a Roman Catholic; but if I were a judge at Malta I should have no scruple about punishing a bigoted Protestant who should burn the Pope in effigy before the eyes of thousands of Roman Catholics. I am not a Mussulman; but if I were a judge in India I should have no scruple about punishing a Christian who should pollute a mosque. Why, then, should I doubt that a Jew, raised by his ability, learning, and integrity to the judicial bench, would deal properly with any person who, in a Christian country, should insult the Christian religion?

But, says my honorable friend, it has been prophesied that the Jews are to be wanderers on the face of the earth, and that they are not to mix on terms of equality with the people of the countries in which they sojourn. Now, sir, I am confident that I can demonstrate that this is not the sense of any prophecy which is part of Holy Writ. For it is an undoubted fact that in the United States of America Jewish citizens do possess all the privileges possessed by Christian citizens. Therefore, if the prophecies mean that the Jews never shall, during their wanderings, be admitted by other nations to equal participation of political rights, the prophecies are false. But the prophecies are certainly not false. Therefore their meaning cannot be that which is attributed to them by my honorable friend.

Another objection which has been made to this motion is that the Jews look forward to the coming of a great deliverer, to their return to Palestine, to the rebuilding of their temple, to the revival of their ancient worship, and that therefore they will always consider England, not their country, but merely as their place of exile. But, surely, sir, it would be the grossest ignorance of human nature to imagine that the anticipation of an event which is to happen at some time altogether indefinite, of an event which has been vainly expected during many centuries, of an event which even those who confidently expect that it will happen do not confidently expect that they or their children or their grandchildren will see, can ever occupy the minds of men to such a degree as to make them regardless of what is near and present and certain. Indeed, Christians, as well as Jews, believe that the existing order of things will come to an end. Many Christians believe that Jesus will visibly reign on earth during a thousand years. Expositors of prophecy have gone so far as to fix the

year when the millennial period is to commence. The prevailing opinion is, I think, in favor of the year 1866; but, according to some commentators, the time is close at hand. Are we to exclude all millennarians from Parliament and office, on the ground that they are impatiently looking forward to the miraculous monarchy which is to supersede the present dynasty and the present constitution of England, and that therefore they cannot be heartily loyal to King William?

In one important point, sir, my honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford must acknowledge that the Jewish religion is of all erroneous religions the least mischievous. There is not the slightest chance that the Jewish religion will spread. The Jew does not wish to make proselytes. He may be said to reject them. He thinks it almost culpable in one who does not belong to his race to presume to belong to his religion. It is therefore not strange that a conversion from Christianity to Judaism should be a rarer occurrence than a total eclipse of the sun. There was one distinguished convert in the last century, Lord George Gordon; and the history of his conversion deserves to be remembered. For if ever there was a proselyte of whom a proselytising sect would have been proud, it was Lord George; not only because he was a man of high birth and rank; not only because he had been a member of the legislature; but also because he had been distinguished by the intolerance, nay, the ferocity, of his zeal for his own form of Christianity. But was he allured into the synagogue? Was he even welcomed to it? No, sir; he was coldly and reluctantly permitted to share the reproach and suffering of the Chosen People; but he was sternly shut out from their privileges. He underwent the painful rite which their law enjoins. But when, on his deathbed, he begged hard to be buried among them according to their cere-

monial, he was told that his request could not be granted. I understand that cry of "Hear." It reminds me that one of the arguments against this motion is that the Jews are an unsocial people, that they draw close to each other, and stand aloof from strangers. Really, sir, it is amusing to compare the manner in which the question of Catholic emancipation was argued formerly by some gentlemen with the manner in which the question of Jew emancipation is argued by the same gentlemen now. When the question was about Catholic emancipation the cry was, "See how restless, how versatile, how encroaching, how insinuating, is the spirit of the Church of Rome. See how her priests compass earth and sea to make one proselyte, how indefatigably they toil, how attentively they study the weak and strong parts of every character, how skilfully they employ literature, arts, sciences, as engines for the propagation of their faith. You find them in every region and under every disguise, collating manuscripts in the Bodleian, fixing telescopes in the Observatory of Pekin, teaching the use of the plough and the spinning-wheel to the savages of Paraguay. Will you give power to the members of a church so busy, so aggressive, so insatiable?" Well, now the question is about people who never try to seduce any stranger to join them, and who do not wish anybody to be of their faith who is not also of their blood. And now you exclaim, "Will you give power to the members of a sect which remains sullenly apart from other sects, which does not invite, nay, which hardly even admits, neophytes?" The truth is that bigotry will never want a pretence. Whatever the sect be which it is proposed to tolerate, the peculiarities of that sect will, for the time, be pronounced by intolerant men to be the most odious and dangerous that can be conceived. As to the Jews, that they are unsocial as respects religion is true; and

so much the better: for surely, as Christians, we cannot wish that they should bestir themselves to pervert us from our own faith. But that the Jews would be unsocial members of the civil community, if the civil community did its duty by them, has never been proved. My right honorable friend who made the motion which we are discussing has produced a great body of evidence to show that they have been grossly misrepresented; and that evidence has not been refuted by my honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford. But what if it were true that the Jews are unsocial? What if it were true that they do not regard England as their country? Would not the treatment which they have undergone explain and excuse their antipathy to the society in which they live? Has not similar antipathy often been felt by persecuted Christians to the society which persecuted them? While the bloody code of Elizabeth was enforced against the English Roman Catholics, what was the patriotism of Roman Catholics? Oliver Cromwell said that in his time they were Espaniolized. At a later period it might have been said that they were Gallicized. It was the same with the Calvinists. What more deadly enemies had France in the days of Louis the Fourteenth than the persecuted Huguenots? But would any rational man infer from these facts that either the Roman Catholic as such, or the Calvinist as such, is incapable of loving the land of his birth? If England were now invaded by Roman Catholics, how many English Roman Catholics would go over to the invader? If France were now attacked by a Protestant enemy, how many French Protestants would lend him help? Why not try what effect would be produced on the Jews by that tolerant policy which has made the English Roman Catholic a good Englishman, and the French Calvinist a good Frenchman?

Another charge has been brought against the Jews, not by my honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford,—he has too much learning and too much good feeling to make such a charge,—but by the honorable member for Oldham, who has, I am sorry to see, quitted his place. The honorable member for Oldham tells us that the Jews are naturally a mean race, a sordid race, a money-getting race; that they are averse to all honorable callings; that they neither sow nor reap; that they have neither flocks nor herds; that usury is the only pursuit for which they are fit; that they are destitute of all elevated and amiable sentiments. Such, sir, has in every age been the reasoning of bigots. They never fail to plead in justification of persecution the vices which persecution has engendered. England has been to the Jews less than half a country; and we revile them because they do not feel for England more than a half patriotism. We treat them as slaves, and wonder that they do not regard us as brethren. We drive them to mean occupations, and then reproach them for not embracing honorable professions. We long forbade them to possess land; and we complain that they chiefly occupy themselves in trade. We shut them out from all the paths of ambition; and then we despise them for taking refuge in avarice. During many ages we have, in all our dealings with them, abused our immense superiority of force; and then we are disgusted because they have recourse to that cunning which is the natural and universal defence of the weak against the violence of the strong. But were they always a mere money-changing, money-getting, money-hoarding race? Nobody knows better than my honorable friend the member for the University of Oxford that there is nothing in their national character which unfits them for the highest duties of citizens. He knows that, in the

infancy of civilization, when our island was as savage as New Guinea, when letters and arts were still unknown to Athens, when scarcely a thatched hut stood on what was afterwards the site of Rome, this contemned people had their fenced cities and cedar palaces, their splendid temple, their fleets of merchant ships, their schools of sacred learning, their great statesmen and soldiers, their natural philosophers, their historians and their poets. What nation ever contended more manfully against overwhelming odds for its independence and religion? What nation ever, in its last agonies, gave such signal proofs of what may be accomplished by a brave despair? And if, in the course of many centuries, the oppressed descendants of warriors and sages have degenerated from the qualities of their fathers; if, while excluded from the blessings of law and bowed down under the yoke of slavery, they have contracted some of the vices of outlaws and of slaves, shall we consider this as matter of reproach to them? Shall we not rather consider it as matter of shame and remorse to ourselves? Let us do justice to them. Let us open to them the door of the House of Commons. Let us open to them every career in which ability and energy can be displayed. Till we have done this let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees.

Sir, in supporting the motion of my honorable friend, I am, I firmly believe, supporting the honor and the interests of the Christian religion. I should think that I insulted that religion if I said that it cannot stand unaided by intolerant laws. Without such laws it was established, and without such laws it may be maintained. It triumphed over the superstitions of the most refined and of the most savage nations, over the graceful mythology of Greece and the bloody

idolatry of the northern forests. It prevailed over the power and policy of the Roman empire. It tamed the barbarians by whom that empire was overthrown. But all these victories were gained, not by the help of intolerance, but in spite of the opposition of intolerance. The whole history of Christianity proves that she has little indeed to fear from persecution as a foe, but much to fear from persecution as an ally. May she long continue to bless our country with her benignant influence, strong in her sublime philosophy, strong in her spotless morality, strong in those internal and external evidences to which the most powerful and comprehensive of human intellects have yielded assent, the last solace of those who have outlived every earthly hope, the last restraint of those who are raised above every earthly fear! But let not us, mistaking her character and her interests, fight the battle of truth with the weapons of error, and endeavor to support by oppression that religion which first taught the human race the great lesson of universal charity.

WADE

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE was born near Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1800. Such education as he received seems to have been mainly obtained at home. There is no record of his graduation from any university. He became a lawyer and began to practice at the Ohio bar in 1827. Ten years later, he entered the State Senate as a Whig, and was elected to the same body in 1841. In 1847 he was made a judge of the Third Judicial District in Ohio, and, while occupying this position, was sent in 1851 to the United States Senate, and remained there until 1869. The speech which we subjoin is said to have made Judge Wade the leader of the Radical Republicans. It certainly affords an index of the sentiment of the great mass of the Republicans with regard to the threatened secession of many slaveholding States. He died 1878.

ON SECESSION, AND THE STATE OF THE UNION; REPUBLICAN OPINION

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, DECEMBER 17, 1860

Mr. President:

AT a time like this, when there seems to be a wild and unreasoning excitement in many parts of the country, I certainly have very little faith in the efficacy of any argument that may be made; but at the same time, I must say, when I hear it stated by many Senators in this Chamber, where we all raised our hands to Heaven, and took a solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States, that we are on the eve of a dissolution of this Union, and that the Constitution is to be trampled underfoot—silence under such circumstances seems to me akin to treason itself.

I have listened to the complaints on the other side patiently, and with an ardent desire to ascertain what was the particular difficulty under which they were laboring. Many of those who have supposed themselves aggrieved have spoken; but I confess that I am now totally unable to undertand precisely what it is of which they complain. Why, sir, the party which lately elected their President, and are prospectively to come into power, have never held an executive office under the general government, nor has any individual of them. It is most manifest, therefore, that the party to which I belong have as yet committed no act of which anybody can complain. If they have fears as to the course that we may hereafter pursue, they are mere apprehensions—a bare suspicion; arising, I fear, out of their unwarrantable prejudices, and nothing else.

I wish to ascertain at the outset whether we are right; for I tell gentlemen that, if they can convince me that I am holding any political principle that is not warranted by the Constitution under which we live, or that trenches upon their rights, they need not ask me to compromise it. I will be ever ready to grant redress, and to right myself whenever I am wrong. No man need approach me with a threat that the government under which I live is to be destroyed; because I hope I have now, and ever shall have, such a sense of justice that, when any man shows me that I am wrong, I shall be ready to right it without price or compromise.

Now, sir, what is it of which gentlemen complain? When I left my home in the West to come to this place, all was calm, cheerful, and contented. I heard of no discontent. I apprehended that there was nothing to interrupt the harmonious course of our legislation. I did not learn that, since we adjourned from this place at the end of the

last session, there had been any new fact intervening that should at all disturb the public mind. I do not know that there has been any encroachment upon the rights of any section of the country since that time; I came here, therefore, expecting to have a very harmonious session. It is very true, sir, that the great Republican party which has been organized ever since you repealed the Missouri Compromise, and who gave you, four years ago, full warning that their growing strength would probably result as it has resulted, have carried the late election; but I did not suppose that would disturb the equanimity of this body. I did suppose that every man who was observant of the signs of the times might well see that things would result as they have resulted. Nor do I understand now that anything growing out of that election is the cause of the present excitement that pervades the country.

Why, Mr. President, this is a most singular state of things. Who is it that is complaining? They that have been in a minority? They that have been the subjects of an oppressive and aggressive government? No, sir. Let us suppose that when the leaders of the old glorious Revolution met at Philadelphia eighty-four years ago to draw up a bill of indictment against a wicked king and his ministers, they had been at a loss what they should set forth as the causes of their complaint. They had no difficulty in setting them forth so that the great article of impeachment will go down to all posterity as a full justification of all the acts they did. But let us suppose that, instead of its being these old patriots who had met there to dissolve their connection with the British Government, and to trample their flag underfoot, it had been the ministers of the crown, the leading members of the British Parliament, of the dominant

party that had ruled Great Britain for thirty years previous: who would not have branded every man of them as a traitor? It would be said: "You who have had the government in your own hands: you who have been the ministers of the crown, advising everything that has been done, set up here that you have been oppressed and aggrieved by the action of that very government which you have directed yourselves." Instead of a sublime revolution, the uprising of an oppressed people, ready to battle against unequal power for their rights, it would have been an act of treason.

How is it with the leaders of this modern revolution? Are they in a position to complain of the action of this government for years past? Why, sir, they have had more than two-thirds of the Senate for many years past, and until very recently, and have almost that now. You—who complain, I ought to say—represent but a little more than one-fourth of the free people of these United States, and yet your counsels prevail, and have prevailed all along for at least ten years past. In the Cabinet, in the Senate of the United States, in the Supreme Court, in every department of the government, your officers, or those devoted to you, have been in the majority, and have dictated all the policies of this government. Is it not strange, sir, that they who now occupy these positions should come here and complain that their rights are stricken down by the action of the government?

But what has caused this great excitement that undoubtedly prevails in a portion of our country? If the newspapers are to be credited, there is a reign of terror in all the cities and large towns in the southern portion of this community that looks very much like the reign of terror in Paris during the French Revolution. There are acts of vio-

lence that we read of almost every day, wherein the rights of Northern men are stricken down, where they are sent back with indignities, where they are scourged, tarred, feathered, and murdered, and no inquiry made as to the cause. I do not suppose that the regular government, in times of excitement like these, is really responsible for such acts. I know that these outbreaks of passion, these terrible excitements that sometimes pervade the community are entirely irrepressible by the law of the country. I suppose that is the case now; because if these outrages against Northern citizens were really authorized by the State authorities there, were they a foreign government, everybody knows, if it were the strongest government on earth, we should declare war upon her in one day.

But what has caused this great excitement? Sir, I will tell you what I suppose it is. I do not (and I say it frankly) so much blame the people of the South; because they believe, and they are led to believe by all the information that ever comes before them, that we, the dominant party to-day, who have just seized upon the reins of this government, are their mortal enemies, and stand ready to trample their institutions underfoot. They have been told so by our enemies at the North. Their misfortune, or their fault, is that they have lent a too easy ear to the insinuations of those who are our mortal enemies, while they would not hear us.

Now I wish to inquire, in the first place, honestly, candidly, and fairly, whether the Southern gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber that complain so much, have any reasonable grounds for that complaint—I mean when they are really informed as to our position.

Northern Democrats have sometimes said that we had

personal liberty bills in some few of the States of the North, which somehow trenched upon the rights of the South under the fugitive bill to recapture their runaway slaves; a position that in not more than two or three cases, so far as I can see, has the slightest foundation in fact; and even if those where it is most complained of, if the provisions of their law are really repugnant to that of the United States, they are utterly void, and the courts would declare them so the moment you brought them up. Thus it is that I am glad to hear the candor of those gentlemen on the other side, that they do not complain of these laws. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. Iverson] himself told us that they had never suffered any injury, to his knowledge and belief, from those bills, and they cared nothing about them. The Senator from Virginia [Mr. Mason] said the same thing; and I believe, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Brown]. You all, then, have given up this bone of contention, this matter of complaint which Northern men have set forth as a grievance more than anybody else.

Mr. Mason—Will the Senator indulge me one moment.

Mr. Wade—Certainly.

Mr. Mason—I know he does not intend to misrepresent me or other gentlemen. What I said was, that the repeal of those laws would furnish no cause of satisfaction to the Southern States. Our opinions of those laws we gave freely. We said the repeal of those laws would give no satisfaction.

Mr. Wade—Mr. President, I do not intend to misrepresent anything. I understood those gentlemen to suppose that they had not been injured by them. I understood the Senator from Virginia to believe that they were enacted in a spirit of hostility to the institutions of the South, and to

object to them not because the acts themselves had done them any hurt, but because they were really a stamp of degradation upon Southern men, or something like that—I do not quote his words. The other Senators that referred to it probably intended to be understood in the same way; but they did acquit these laws of having done them injury to their knowledge or belief.

I do not believe that these laws were, as the Senator supposed, enacted with a view to exasperate the South, or to put them in a position of degradation. Why, sir, these laws against kidnapping are as old as the common law itself, as that Senator well knows. To take a freeman and forcibly carry him out of the jurisdiction of the State, has ever been, by all civilized countries, adjudged to be a great crime; and in most of them, wherever I have understood anything about it, they have penal laws to punish such an offence. I believe the State of Virginia has one to-day as stringent in all its provisions as almost any other of which you complain. I have not looked over the statute-books of the South; but I do not doubt that there will be found this species of legislation upon all your statute-books.

Here let me say, because the subject occurs to me right here, the Senator from Virginia seemed not so much to point out any specific acts that Northern people had done injurious to your property, as what he took to be a dishonor and a degradation. I think I feel as sensitive upon that subject as any other man. If I know myself, I am the last man that would be the advocate of any law or any act that would humiliate or dishonor any section of this country, or any individual in it; and, on the other hand, let me tell these gentlemen I am exceedingly sensitive upon that same point, whatever they may think about it. I would rather

sustain an injury than an insult or dishonor; and I would be as unwilling to inflict it upon others as I would be to submit to it myself. I never will do either the one or the other if I know it. . . .

I know that charges have been made and rung in our ears, and reiterated over and over again, that we have been unfaithful in the execution of your fugitive bill. Sir, that law is exceedingly odious to any free people. It deprives us of all the old guarantees of liberty that the Anglo-Saxon race everywhere have considered sacred—more sacred than anything else. . . .

Mr. President, the gentleman says, if I understood him, that these fugitives might be turned over to the authorities of the State from whence they came. That would be a very poor remedy for a free man in humble circumstances who was taken under the provisions of this bill in a summary way, to be carried—where? Where he came from? There is no law that requires that he should be carried there. Sir, if he is a free man he may be carried into the market-place anywhere in a slave State; and what chance has he, a poor, ignorant individual, and a stranger, of asserting any rights there, even if there were no prejudices or partialities against him? That would be mere mockery of justice and nothing else, and the Senator well knows it. Sir, I know that from the stringent, summary provisions of this bill, free men have been kidnapped and carried into captivity and sold into everlasting slavery. Will any man who has a regard to the sovereign rights of the State rise here and complain that a State shall not make a law to protect her own people against kidnapping and violent seizures from abroad? Of all men, I believe those who have made most of these complaints should be the last to rise and deny the power of

a sovereign State to protect her own citizens against any Federal legislation whatever. These liberty bills, in my judgment, have been passed, not with a view of degrading the South, but with an honest purpose of guarding the rights of their own citizens from unlawful seizures and abductions. I was exceedingly glad to hear that the Senators on the other side had arisen in their places and had said that the repeal of those laws would not relieve the case from the difficulties under which they now labor. . . .

Gentlemen, it will be very well for us all to take a view of all the phases of this controversy before we come to such conclusions as seem to have been arrived at in some quarters. I make the assertion here that I do not believe, in the history of the world, there ever was a nation or a people where a law repugnant to the general feeling was ever executed with the same faithfulness as has been your most savage and atrocious fugitive bill in the North. You yourselves can scarcely point out any case that has come before any Northern tribunal in which the law has not been enforced to the very letter. You ought to know these facts, and you do know them. You all know that when a law is passed anywhere to bind any people, who feel, in conscience, or for any other reason, opposed to its execution, it is not in human nature to enforce it with the same certainty as a law that meets with the approbation of the great mass of the citizens. Every rational man understands this, and every candid man will admit it. Therefore it is that I do not violently impeach you for your unfaithfulness in the execution of many of your laws. You have in South Carolina a law by which you take free citizens of Massachusetts or any other maritime State, who visit the city of Charleston, and lock them up in jail under the penalty,

if they cannot pay the jail-fees, of eternal slavery staring them in the face—a monstrous law, revolting to the best feelings of humanity and violently in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. I do not say this by way of recrimination; for the excitement pervading the country is now so great that I do not wish to add a single coal to the flame; but nevertheless I wish the whole truth to appear. . . .

Now, Mr. President, I have shown, I think, that the dominant majority here have nothing to complain of in the legislation of Congress, or in the legislation of any of the States, or in the practice of the people of the North, under the Fugitive Slave Bill, except so far as they say certain State legislation furnishes some evidence of hostility to their institutions. And here, sir, I beg to make an observation. I tell the Senator, and I tell all the Senators, that the Republican party of the Northern States, so far as I know, and of my own State in particular, hold the same opinions with regard to this peculiar institution of yours that are held by all the civilized nations of the world. We do not differ from the public sentiment of England, of France, of Germany, of Italy, and every other civilized nation on God's earth; and I tell you frankly that you never found, and you never will find, a free community that are in love with your peculiar institution. The Senator from Texas (Mr. Wigfall) told us the other day that cotton was king, and that by its influence it would govern all creation. He did not say so in words, but that was the substance of his remark: that cotton was king, and that it had its subjects in Europe who dared not rebel against it. Here let me say to that Senator, in passing, that it turns out that they are very rebellious subjects, and they are talking very disrespect-

fully at present of that king that he spoke of. They defy you to exercise your power over them. They tell you that they sympathize in this controversy with what you call the black Republicans. Therefore, I hope that, so far as Europe is concerned at least, we shall hear no more of this boast that cotton is king, and that he is going to rule all the civilized nations of the world, and bring them to his footstool. Sir, it will never be done.

But, sir, I wish to inquire whether the Southern people are injured by, or have any just right to complain of that platform of principles that we put out, and on which we have elected a President and Vice-President. I have no concealments to make, and I shall talk to you, my Southern friends, precisely as I would talk upon the stump on the subject. I tell you that in that platform we did lay it down that we would, if we had the power, prohibit slavery from another inch of free territory under this government. I stand on that position to-day. I have argued it probably to half a million people. They stand there, and have commissioned and enjoined me to stand there forever; and, so help me God, I will. I say to you, frankly, gentlemen, that while we hold this doctrine, there is no Republican, there is no convention of Republicans, there is no paper that speaks for them, there is no orator that sets forth their doctrines, who ever pretends that they have any right in your States to interfere with your peculiar institution; but, on the other hand, our authoritative platform repudiates the idea that we have any right or any intention ever to invade your peculiar institution in your own States.

Now, what do you complain of? You are going to break up this government; you are going to involve us in war and blood, from a mere suspicion that we shall justify

that which we stand everywhere pledged not to do. Would you be justified in the eyes of the civilized world in taking so monstrous a position, and predicating it on a bare, groundless suspicion? We do not love slavery. Did you not know that before to-day, before this session commenced? Have you not a perfect confidence that the civilized world is against you on this subject of loving slavery or believing that it is the best institution in the world? Why, sir, everything remains precisely as it was a year ago. No great catastrophe has occurred. There is no recent occasion to accuse us of anything. But all at once, when we meet here, a kind of gloom pervades the whole community and the Senate chamber. Gentlemen rise and tell us that they are on the eve of breaking up this government, that seven or eight States are going to break off their connection with the government, retire from the Union, and set up a hostile government of their own, and they look imploringly over to us, and say to us: "You can prevent it; we can do nothing to prevent it; but it all lies with you." Well, sir, what can we do to prevent it? You have not even condescended to tell us what you want; but I think I see through the speeches that I have heard from gentlemen on the other side. If we would give up the verdict of the people, and take your platform, I do not know but you would be satisfied with it. I think the Senator from Texas rather intimated, and I think the Senator from Georgia more than intimated, that if we would take what is exactly the Charleston platform on which Mr. Breckenridge was placed, and give up that on which we won our victory, you would grumblingly and hesitatingly be satisfied.

Mr. Iverson—I would prefer that the Senator would

look over my remarks before quoting them so confidently. I made no such statement as that. I did not say that I would be satisfied with any such thing. I would not be satisfied with it.

Mr. Wade—I did not say that the Senator said so; but by construction I gathered that from his speech. I do not know that I was right in it.

Mr. Iverson—The Senator is altogether wrong in his construction.

Mr. Wade—Well, sir, I have now found what the Senator said on the other point to which he called my attention a little while ago. Here it is:

"Nor do we suppose that there will be any overt acts upon the part of Mr. Lincoln. For one, I do not dread these overt acts. I do not propose to wait for them. Why, sir, the power of this Federal Government could be so exercised against the institution of slavery in the Southern States, as that, without an overt act, the institution would not last ten years. We know that, sir; and seeing the storm which is approaching, although it may be seemingly in the distance, we are determined to seek our own safety and security before it shall burst upon us and overwhelm us with its fury, when we are not in a situation to defend ourselves."

That is what the Senator said.

Mr. Iverson—Yes; that is what I said.

Mr. Wade—Well, then, you did not expect that Mr. Lincoln would commit any overt act against the Constitution—that was not it—you were not going to wait for that, but were going to proceed on your supposition that probably he might; and that is the sense of what I said before.

Well, Mr. President, I have disavowed all intention

on the part of the Republican party to harm a hair of your heads anywhere. We hold to no doctrine that can possibly work you an inconvenience. We have been faithful to the execution of all the laws in which you have any interest, as stands confessed on this floor by your own party, and as is known to me without their confessions. It is not, then, that Mr. Lincoln is expected to do any overt act by which you may be injured; you will not wait for any; but anticipating that the government may work an injury, you say you will put an end to it, which means simply that you intend either to rule or ruin this government. That is what your complaint comes to; nothing else. We do not like your institution, you say. Well, we never liked it any better than we do now. You might as well have dissolved the Union at any other period as now, on that account, for we stand in relation to it precisely as we have ever stood; that is, repudiating it among ourselves as a matter of policy and morals, but nevertheless admitting that where it is out of our jurisdiction we have no hold upon it, and no designs upon it.

Then, sir, as there is nothing in the platform on which Mr. Lincoln was elected of which you complain, I ask, is there anything in the character of the President-elect of which you ought to complain? Has he not lived a blameless life? Did he ever transgress any law? Has he ever committed any violation of duty of which the most scrupulous can complain? Why, then, your suspicions that he will? I have shown that you have had the government all the time, until, by some misfortune or maladministration, you brought it to the very verge of destruction, and the wisdom of the people had discovered that it was

high time that the sceptre should depart from you, and be placed in more competent hands; I say that this being so, you have no constitutional right to complain; especially when we disavow any intention so to make use of the victory we have won as to injure you at all.

This brings me, sir, to the question of compromises. On the first day of this session, a Senator rose in his place and offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the evils that exist between the different sections, and to ascertain what can be done to settle this great difficulty. That is the proposition substantially. I tell the Senator that I know of no difficulty; and as to compromises, I had supposed that we were all agreed that the day of compromises was at an end. The most solemn compromises we have ever made have been violated without a whereas. Since I have had a seat in this body, one of considerable antiquity, that had stood for more than thirty years, was swept away from your statute books. When I stood here in the minority arguing against it; when I asked you to withhold your hand; when I told you it was a sacred compromise between the sections, and that when it was removed we should be brought face to face with all that sectional bitterness that has intervened; when I told you that it was a sacred compromise which no man should touch with his finger, what was your reply? That it was a mere act of Congress—nothing more, nothing less—and that it could be swept away by the same majority that passed it. That was true in point of fact, and true in point of law; but it showed the weakness of compromises. Now, sir, I only speak for myself; and I say that, in view of the manner in which other compromises have been heretofore treated, I should hardly think any

two of the Democratic party would look each other in the face and say "compromise" without a smile. [Laughter.] A compromise to be brought about by act of Congress, after the experience we have had, is absolutely ridiculous. . . .

I say, then, that so far as I am concerned, I will yield to no compromise. I do not come here begging, either. It would be an indignity to the people that I represent if I were to stand here parleying as to the rights of the party to which I belong. We have own our right to the Chief Magistracy of this nation in the way that you have always won your predominance; and if you are as willing to do justice to others as to exact it from them, you would never raise an inquiry as to a committee for compromises. Here I beg, barely for myself, to say one thing more. Many of you stand in an attitude hostile to this government; that is to say, you occupy an attitude where you threaten that, unless we do so and so, you will go out of this Union and destroy the government. I say to you for myself, that, in my private capacity, I never yielded to anything by way of threat, and in my public capacity I have no right to yield to any such thing; and therefore I would not entertain a proposition for any compromise, for, in my judgment, this long, chronic controversy that has existed between us must be met, and met upon the principles of the Constitution and laws, and met now. I hope it may be adjusted to the satisfaction of all; and I know no other way to adjust it, except that way which is laid down by the Constitution of the United States. Whenever we go astray from that, we are sure to plunge ourselves into difficulties. The old Constitution of the United States, although commonly and frequently in direct opposition to what I could wish, nevertheless, in my judgment, is the wisest and best

Constitution that ever yet organized a free government; and by its provisions I am willing, and intend, to stand or fall. Like the Senator from Mississippi, I ask nothing more. I ask no ingrafting upon it. I ask nothing to be taken away from it. Under its provisions a nation has grown faster than any other in the history of the world ever did before in prosperity, in power, and in all that makes a nation great and glorious. It has ministered to the advantages of this people; and now I am unwilling to add or take away anything till I can see much clearer than I can now that it wants either any addition or lopping off. . . .

The Senator from Texas says—it is not exactly his language—we will force you to an ignominious treaty up in Faneuil Hall. Well, sir, you may. We know you are brave; we understand your prowess; we want no fight with you; but, nevertheless, if you drive us to that necessity, we must use all the powers of this government to maintain it intact in its integrity. If we are overthrown, we but share the fate of a thousand other governments that have been subverted. If you are the weakest then you must go to the wall; and that is all there is about it. That is the condition in which we stand, provided a State sets herself up in opposition to the general government.

I say that is the way it seems to me, as a lawyer. I see no power in the Constitution to release a Senator from this position. Sir, if there was any other, if there was an absolute right of secession in the Constitution of the United States when we stepped up there to take our oath of office, why was there not an exception in that oath? Why did it not run "that we would support the Constitution of the United States unless our State shall secede before our

term was out?'' Sir, there is no such immunity. There is no way by which this can be done that I can conceive of, except it is standing upon the Constitution of the United States, demanding equal justice for all, and vindicating the old flag of the Union. We must maintain it, unless we are cloven down by superior force.

Well, sir, it may happen that you can make your way out of the Union, and that, by levying war upon the government, you may vindicate your right to independence. If you should do so, I have a policy in my mind. No man would regret more than myself that any portion of the people of these United States should think themselves impelled, by grievances or anything else, to depart out of this Union, and raise a foreign flag and a hand against the general government. If there was any just cause on God's earth that I could see that was within my reach of honorable release from any such pretended grievance, they should have it; but they set forth none; I can see none. It is all a matter of prejudice, superinduced unfortunately, I believe, as I intimated before, more because you have listened to the enemies of the Republican party and what they said of us, while, from your intolerance, you have shut out all light as to what our real principles are. We have been called and branded in the North and in the South and everywhere else, as John Brown men, as men hostile to your institutions, as meditating an attack upon your institutions in your own States—a thing that no Republican ever dreamed of or ever thought of, but has protested against as often as the question has been up; but your people believe it. No doubt they believe it because of the terrible excitement and reign of terror that prevails there. No doubt they think so, but it arises from false in-

formation, or the want of information—that is all. Their prejudices have been appealed to until they have become uncontrolled and uncontrollable.

Well, sir, if it shall be so; if that "glorious Union," as we call it, under which the government has so long lived and prospered, is now about to come to a final end, as perhaps it may, I have been looking around to see what policy we should adopt; and through that gloom which has been mentioned on the other side, if you will have it so, I still see a glorious future for those who stand by the old flag of the nation. . . .

But, sir, I am for maintaining the Union of these States. I will sacrifice everything but honor to maintain it. That glorious old flag of ours, by any act of mine, shall never cease to wave over the integrity of this Union as it is. But if they will not have it so, in this new, renovated government of which I have spoken, the 4th of July, with all its glorious memories, will never be repealed. The old flag of 1776 will be in our hands, and shall float over this nation forever; and this capital, that some gentlemen said would be reserved for the Southern republic, shall still be the capital. It was laid out by Washington, it was consecrated by him; and the old flag that he vindicated in the Revolution shall still float from the Capitol.

I say, sir, I stand by the Union of these States. Washington and his compatriots fought for that good old flag. It shall never be hauled down, but shall be the glory of the government to which I belong, as long as my life shall continue. To maintain it, Washington and his compatriots fought for liberty and the rights of man. And here I will add that my own father, although but a humble soldier, fought in the same great cause, and went through

hardships and privations sevenfold worse than death, in order to bequeath it to his children. It is my inheritance. It was my protector in infancy, and the pride and glory of my riper years; and, Mr. President, although it may be assailed by traitors on every side, by the grace of God, under its shadows I will die.

CUSHING

CALEB CUSHING, a distinguished American jurist, born at Salisbury, Massachusetts, January 17, 1800, was educated at Harvard University. After studying law and being admitted to the bar he settled in Newburyport, and in 1825 entered the Massachusetts legislature. He was sent to Congress by the Whigs in 1835, and served four terms in the House, but allied himself with the Democrats in 1841. In 1843 he was appointed commissioner to China and arranged the earliest treaty between China and the United States. At the time of the Mexican war, Cushing equipped a regiment at his own expense, and served in the army as colonel and brigadier-general successively. He was attorney-general of the United States, 1853-57, counsel before the Arbitration tribunal at Geneva, 1871-72, and minister to Spain, 1874-75. His death took place in Newburyport, January 2, 1879. Cushing was an able and eloquent speaker, possessed of great polish of manner and adroitness in debate. As a jurist his decisions display both learning and sagacity. His writings include "Practical Principles of Political Economy" (1826); "Historical and Political Review of the Late Revolution in France" (1833); "Reminiscences of Spain" (1833); "Life of William Henry Harrison" (1840).

ORATION ON NEGRO COLONIZATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY JULY 4, 1833

LIBERTY,—liberty of thought, liberty of speech, liberty of action—liberty in government, liberty in person,—is the master-principle, the predominant idea, the great first motive passion, which, in all times, but most of all in our own, has impelled and agitated the world. Whether in savage or civilized existence, it is alike the cherished desire of the human heart, the potent spring of human life.

Chasing his prey in the pathless depths of his western wilderness, over savannahs or through forests coeval with creation,—although science, and art, and religion, and whatever else refines and blesses humanity, be unknown to him,—yet

man feels that he is free,—free as the luxuriant vegetation which springs up spontaneously around him from a virgin earth unbroken by the plough—free as the untamed courser, who divides with him the empire of the desert. It is the one overswaying sentiment which God implanted in his breast: it inspires him with untutored eloquence in council, it nerves his arm in battle. Tear him from his native solitudes and place him in the midst of all that civilization can gather together of splendid, alluring, or wonderful, and he pines to exchange the luxuries of art for the congenial freedom of nature.

Nor is the inextinguishable love of liberty less characteristic of man as a cultivated and intellectual being, as a constituent part of the complex fabric of political society to which we belong. To retain it when possessed, to recover it when lost, has been the object of those mighty efforts of the human race, which have rescued from oblivion, one after the other, successive ages in history, and held up the actors in them to the admiration of posterity. They are epochs familiar to the memory, they are men whose image is ever present to the mind; and whether they honored the mountains of Greece or Switzerland, the plains of Poland or Lombardy, why should I pause to recount them, when here, amid the scenes of our fathers' sacrifices and our fathers' glory, and on this day, the anniversary of our national independence, we ourselves are assembled in the name and in the holy cause of liberty?

It is, I repeat, in her name and in her cause, that we have assembled, and fitly, therefore, upon this proud anniversary, since the day of our emancipation from bondage as a people should be consecrated to the one high principle which singles it out from its undistinguished fellows in the lapse of time,—the conservation of the genuine theory of universal justice,

the spreading abroad of the great truth that all men are born to equal participation in the blessings of life, the rights and the wrongs of the slave, wherever he may be and of whatever clime or complexion,—the cause, in a word, of constitutional liberty.

We, indeed, in the land of the Pilgrim Fathers, the chosen refuge of the oppressed, inhale the pure atmosphere of freedom; we imbue its doctrines with the very being we draw from the maternal breast; they come to be the first elements of our moral constitution in manhood; and for us, it is only the abuses of liberty from within, that we have room to apprehend in our New England. And would to heaven that it were so in our whole country; that the curse of involuntary servitude did not still cling to so large a portion of our countrymen, destroying their peace, filling their dwellings with the agonies of perpetual domestic suspicion, subjecting their families to massacre, and hanging its dead weight upon their public welfare; that the chains of the negro were at length and forever struck from his limbs; that liberty, knowledge, and Christianity were made equally the unpurchased birthright of the European and the African throughout the New World!

Glorious, in truth, and auspicious will be the day,—glorious for our country, auspicious for the human race,—when man shall cease to be the bond-slave of man. It matters not what name of sect we of New England may bear,—in what form of association, what combination of party, we may be ranked,—on this point we are of universal accord; and we are so, not merely from that intimate conviction, that prejudice of education, if you will, which has grown with our growth; but on considerations of eternal truth, of justice, of humanity, of religion, of expediency, of everything which should inform

the heart and control the actions of a rational and accountable man, of a patriot, a philosopher, and a Christian.

We maintain, and the letter of our constitution is to us a truth, that men are born to equal political rights, however the accidents of fortune may interpose to prevent the enjoyment of those rights; and that personal servitude, therefore, is contrary to fundamental principles of political justice.

We believe that, although the Bible inculcates legal obedience of the subject to the ruler, and of the servant to the master, yet political equality, civil freedom, and personal freedom, and of course the doctrines of emancipation, are among the peculiar and characteristic lessons of the religion of Jesus Christ.

We know that, however the interest of the master may consult the physical well-being of the slaves in whom his wealth consists, yet that for them the moral benefits of life are imperfectly, when at all, enjoyed. They are not educated, lest through education they should learn to appreciate the value of that liberty which they have not and should acquire the temper, the will, and the means to escape from their involuntary thraldom. That exquisite sentiment, which ennobles and sanctifies the relation of the sexes, is not theirs; for how shall the ties of domestic life, when subject to the caprice, and dependent on the interests and improvidence of a master, possess the highest and holiest of sanctions? The pursuit of riches, rank, or distinction, the desire of public usefulness, the sense of conscious capability to augment the sum of human knowledge, virtue, and happiness, and the will to exert that capability for noble ends; the divine unction of religious ardor and apostolic zeal, the noble passion of disinterested well-doing for the good of our fellows, ambition of power or fame, in short, all the strong moral inducements of human

action, be they for time or be they for eternity, belong to man as the agent of his own volition: they are the magnificent heritage of the free. We are the creatures of motive, and it is the influence of circumstance upon the springs of action within us, which gives to the soul its energy, and to existence all its beauty and worth. I know it is the ordinary commonplace of rhetoric and poetry to dwell on this fact; but it is not the less a truth for its triteness; and while it has been true of slavery under all its modifications, it is more especially true of slavery as it is here, where the color of the slave creates a visible and permanent distinction between him and his master, and prevents the enslaved race from being gradually absorbed in and assimilated with the mass of the free population.

We are deeply sensible of the pernicious influence of slavery upon the condition of that portion of our country where it exists and the character of its free inhabitants. We see that it tends to weaken the spirit of enterprise and to banish industry by rendering labor disreputable; that it corrupts the morals by promoting idleness and affording facilities for vicious indulgence; and that, striking as these evils are, they are poorly compensated by the livelier sense of the value of freedom and higher tone of honor which may prevail in a slaveholding community. We see among the States of the Union some which nature has most bounteously favored comparatively impoverished by the system of slave labor,—rendered tributary to the industrious population of the free States, or of foreign countries, for all the comforts and conveniences of life,—unblessed by the signs of universal competency, happiness, and welfare, the commodious habitations the thrifty and well-ordered farms, the flourishing manufactories, the ships, the churches, the schools, which are the result of the

honor of free labor in the Eastern and Middle States; we see all this, the retribution which slavery works out upon itself, we see that monstrous disloyalty toward the Union, in certain regions of the South, of which, whatever may be the pretexts, this undoubtedly is not the least fruitful source; and in those considerations, even if the right of the slave did not cry to heaven for his ransom, we should find incentives enough to plead, and labor, and pray for the purification of this plague-spot from our land, for the end of this great drawback in the palmy prosperity of the Union.

If any sentiments differing from these have obtained among us it is unknown to me:—I avow these to be the sentiments which I entertain, I believe them to have universal currency throughout New England. Standing here on this occasion, by the invitation of the Colonization Society of Massachusetts, to advocate its cause and justify its purposes, and aware of the extraordinary violence of language employed in certain quarters to impugn the motives and abstract doctrine of prominent members and friends of that society, I have felt bound to put on record, in the outset, a distinct declaration of creed on this point, at the risk of seeming to argue that which none disputes, and of illustrating positions too plain to admit of denial;—and I have done this, not so much in respect of my own opinion as in justice to the good name of the society.

For the true questions to be considered are: What is the object of the Colonization Society? Is that object laudable? Is it pursued by honorable means? The private motives or personal opinions of any individual who embarks in the cause, whether they be good, or bad, or indifferent, these are a matter concerning him alone, his conscience, or his reputation, and for which the society is nowise responsible.

What, then, is the object of the Colonization Society? Is it laudable? Is it honorably pursued?

This object is simple, direct, visible,—there is no concealment of real design, there is no profession of a simulated one,—it is to establish colonies on the western coast of Africa, by means of such free colored persons or emancipated slaves in the United States as may voluntarily emigrate under the auspices of the society.

Whether this object be a laudable one depends upon the consideration of two facts, namely, the operation of the society in the United States and its operation in Africa.

Within the United States the friends of the Colonization Society conscientiously believe that the association is a useful instrument of beneficence, indirectly to the whites, but more directly to the blacks themselves, whether enslaved or free.

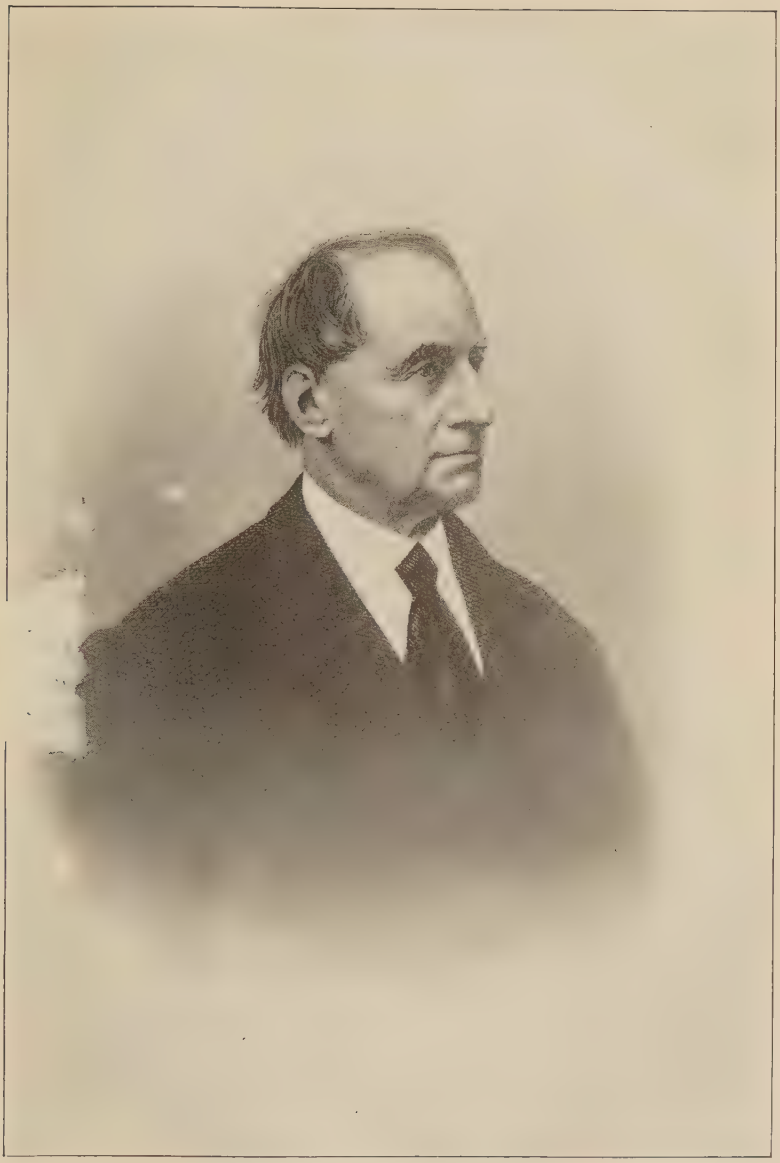
And, first, as to the enslaved blacks. It is perfectly well understood that in the slave-holding States many obstacles, arising from the tenor of the laws respecting free negroes, stand in the way of emancipating slaves, and deter the master from doing this, where otherwise his convictions of duty would outweigh the consideration of his personal interest. The Colonization Society presents to such persons a ready method of accomplishing their benevolent purpose. It has actually conveyed to Africa nearly one thousand manumitted slaves, and needs only augmented means to extend its usefulness in this respect. Here is a definite, practical good, beyond the reach, it would seem, of controversy or cavil, and sufficient of itself alone to entitle the society to unqualified commendation. The society is also of manifest utility in respect of enslaved blacks, because, in addition to its direct agency in conveying them to Africa when emancipated, it tends to promote and encourage the spirit of emancipation,

and, by the information it diffuses, the discussion it elicits, the cultivated and influential individuals in the South, who engage in its cause, gradually to bring to a right conclusion the minds of the slave-holders themselves, through whom alone the abolition of the system of slavery can be peacefully accomplished. Here also is definite, practical good. I am aware that much has been urged as to the incapacity of the society to transport to Africa all the slave population of the United States, and comparisons are instituted between the periodical increase of the slaves in a given time and the number of slaves thus far colonized under the auspices of the society. Whether this conclusion be sustained by the premises alleged in its support, I do not now stop to inquire; it does not in any event constitute a sound objection to the Colonization Society, inasmuch as, be the good, which it is capable of accomplishing in this respect, great, or be it small, here is, I repeat, at any rate a good, a definite practical good, actually accomplished by the society, and a wide field of future usefulness opened to it in the slave-holding States.

Secondly, as to the free blacks. It is impossible to deny that the free blacks in the United States labor under disadvantages arising from color which no system of laws, however just and equal,—no plans of benevolence, however comprehensive,— can remove. God forbid that I should speak of this as matter of reproach: I refer to it only as an existing fact which it would be idle and absurd to keep out of sight in discussing the means of serving the colored population of the United States. Nor does it need that I should enter into the details or extent of the fact; since it is enough to be aware of its existence. I do not mean to say that the possession of high intellectual and moral qualities by a colored person would not be duly honored among us; on the contrary,

I believe it would be; and, from a sentiment of compassion toward the race, more honored even than the same degree of merit in the dominant class. Still the fact remains that, whether in political or in social relations, full equality does not now exist between the races and is not to be anticipated in any probable future contingency. Proceeding upon this incontestable fact, the Colonization Society says to the free colored inhabitants of the United States: "We offer to you a secure asylum in a land congenial to your physical constitution, where you will be the dominant race,—where the avenues to wealth, distinction, and usefulness will be yours indisputably; the land of your fathers; that Africa from which you or your progenitors were forcibly severed and whither you may return to be the missionaries of civilization and of religion; we freely offer to you a participation in the advantages now enjoyed in Liberia by those of your color who already emigrated; if you accept them, it is well; if prefer to remain here, the inferior class, it is well; it is our benefit that we have primarily in view, but that of and your race; and in proposing to you what we conceive to be a valuable object we have discharged some portion of that great debt to Africa which we acknowledge to be due from Europeans and from their descendants in America." Such is the language which the Colonization Society addresses to the free colored inhabitants of the country; and I profess that I cannot see in it either cause of reproach on the part of colored persons or ground of excited feelings, or least of all justification for the hostility of caste which has been industriously propagated in certain quarters in consequence of the establishment and signal success of the Colonization Society.

Lastly, as to the whites. While the Colonization Society has not, either in the causes which originally induced its for-



CALEB CUSHING

mation, or in the management of its affairs, proposed any advantage to the whites as to the main object of its exertions, yet the friends of the Society perceive that it promotes harmonious action upon the subject of slavery in the different sections of the Union; and they look to it as the instrument of ultimate good to themselves, in so far as it may tend, by peaceable means, to produce the final abolition of the slave-system in the southern States.

Within the United States, therefore, I hold it to be demonstrable, that the operation of the Colonization Society is beneficial to every class of its inhabitants; how much so, is not now the question, but at all events beneficial; and I think it can be shown also to be beneficial in Africa.

There was a time when the utility of the society, as respected Africa, was contingent, was matter of speculation; but it is so no longer. A flourishing colony of emigrant colored persons from the United States, having borne with them the means of education,—the civilization and the religion of the land they left,—now exists in Liberia, to utter its testimony in behalf of the society and to constitute the fulcrum, whereby, under the blessing of God, the natives of Africa may be raised to the condition of civilized men and of Christians. When I reflect upon the rapid growth of the colony of Liberia and call to mind the painful progress of the first colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts, out of which
12 this great republic has been permitted to spring, I feel that the prospect which is thus opened to Africa is brilliant enough to justify the most ardent enthusiasm in the cause of the Colonization Society. And familiar as this part of my subject may be to many of my hearers, I am unwilling to dismiss it without some brief remarks on the practicability and effects of civilizing the Africans.

In all ages the continent of Africa has constituted a great geographical problem, the debatable ground of science, the fruitful field of doubt, prejudice, and misapprehension. Once opinion was that its tropical regions were given up to the dominion of burning heat, intolerant of human life, impervious to the footsteps of conquest or commerce. The voyages of the early Portuguese navigators effectually dispelled this false idea and displayed to us a coast, obnoxious, of course, to the heats which prevail in other tropical regions of the globe, but thronged at the same time with a robust and vigorous native population, and as later experience has proved, no more deleterious to Europeans than similar latitudes of Asia and America. But the vast interior of the continent still continued to be the region of mystery, pictured to the imagination as a wide, sandy desert, and known to us only by a few scattered particulars derived from the ancients, by the meagre and unsatisfactory accounts of Arabian geographers, by here and there a solitary fact gleaned from the Barbary traders and the slave-merchants of Nubia or Guinea. But what difficulties could withstand, what dangers could deter, the ardor of European thirst of knowledge, European cupidity of gain, European benevolence? One after another of the adventurous pioneers of improvement fell a victim to his zeal in the cause of knowledge and humanity; Park, Ledyard, Burckhardt, Clapperton, had imparted a melancholy fame to the history of African discovery; until at last, when the best organized attempts of public bodies had utterly failed of success, it was reserved for obscure individuals, a French mariner and an English domestic servant, to reveal the hidden secrets, the great navigable rivers, the rich soil, the exuberant vegetation, the numerous population, of the heart of Africa. And the discoveries of Caillié and Lander seem to have provi-

dentially chanced at that period of time when the establishment of the American colony of Liberia, the conquest of Algiers by France, the regeneration of Egypt under the auspices of Mohammed-Ali, and the assured possession of southern Africa by the English, conspire together at length to promise the redemption of this great continent from the degradation of ages.

There yet remains one last, lingering prejudice regarding Africa, to be dispelled by the clear light of truth, to be rebuked by the irresistible voice of experience. Asia has run her long career of glory; Europe has plucked from her hand the torch of science, the sceptre of empire; three centuries have sufficed to render America the competitor of the Old World in the march of improvement; and wherefore shall not Africa thrust in her sickle to the harvest, wherefore not Africa stand up "redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled," under the vivifying influences of Christianity?

It is the common idea, I believe, that Europeans, by engaging in the slave-trade, are in chief part accountable for the barbarism of Africa; but detestable as that traffic has been and is, and heavy as the load of guilt is which rests upon those who have pursued it, the slave-trade is the effect, rather than the cause, of the moral abasement of Africa. There is a conquering race in the interior of the continent, the Arabs, who, like other Mahometans, pursue the slave-trade as well in Africa as in Asia, and who, on both continents, serve to aggravate, rather than counteract, the debasing influences of paganism. Civilization, of Arabs and Africans alike, is the powerful engine by which the slave-trade is to be eradicated from the earth; and it is from the agency of Christians, or of them primarily, that any rational hope of the civilization of Africa can be derived. And who so proper to communicate

the boon of Christianity, and of civilization along with it, to western Africa, as men of African birth or extraction, themselves prepared for the noble undertaking by residence among the people of Christendom?

To deny that the civilization of Africa is practicable is to forget all that history tells us of the greatness and glory of ancient Egypt, whither Herodotus, Pythagoras, and Plato, the fathers of Grecian learning and philosophy, repaired for intellectual improvement, as the Romans afterwards did, to Athens; it is to forget the conquests of Sesostris; it is to forget the stupendous works of art still remaining, and capable forever to remain, upon the banks of the Nile, indestructible monuments of the wealth and refinement of the Ethiopians and Egyptians, themselves, in the marked physical peculiarities which meet the eye at the present day, of the indigenous races of Africa.

BROWN

JOHN BROWN, of Ossawatomie, a celebrated American anti-slavery agitator, was born in Torrington, Connecticut, May 9, 1800. He moved to Ohio in boyhood, learned the tanner's trade, married early, and was the father of twenty children. In 1855 he emigrated to Kansas, where his radical anti-slavery opinions brought him into personal conflict with the pro-slavery leaders. After his home had been burned and his son John killed by "border ruffians," as the armed pro-slavery men were termed, he planned and carried out the midnight assassination of five of his opponents by way of reprisal. In 1859 he organized an invasion of Virginia as a step towards securing the freedom of the slaves, and on October 16, with twenty-two associates, he surprised the town of Harper's Ferry, in what is now West Virginia, and captured the arsenal and armory there. Brown and his followers were overpowered the next day by the United States troops and delivered over to the State authorities. Brown, with several of his associates, was tried before a Virginia court, found guilty on several counts, and executed at Charlestown, December 2, 1859. See "Lives" by Redpath (1860), Webb (1861), and Sanborn (1885); Thoreau's "Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers" (1890); Richman's "John Brown Among the Quakers" (1894); "Life of Henry A. Wise" (1899).

WORDS TO GOVERNOR WISE AT HARPER'S FERRY

GOVERNOR,—I have from all appearances not more than fifteen or twenty years the start of you in the journey to that eternity of which you kindly warn me; and, whether my time here shall be fifteen months or fifteen days or fifteen hours, I am equally prepared to go. There is an eternity behind and an eternity before; and this little speck in the centre, however long, is but comparatively a minute. The difference between your tenure and mine is trifling, and I therefore tell you to be prepared. I am prepared. You all have a heavy responsibility, and it behooves you to prepare more than it does me.

(5611)

LAST SPEECH TO THE COURT

NOVEMBER 2, 1859

I HAVE, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,—the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case),—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, —either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class,—and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me,

I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to "remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them." I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf of his despised poor was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments,—I submit; so let it be done!

Let me say one word further.

I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

Let me say also a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part of them at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with till the day they came to me; and that was for the purpose I have stated.

Now I have done.

PUSEY

EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY, a distinguished English theologian, was born at Pusey, Berkshire, August 22, 1800, and was educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford. In 1822 he gained a fellowship at Oriel College, where he made the acquaintance of Keble and Newman, and from 1825 to 1827 studied theology at the University of Göttingen. In the following year he was ordained in the English church and made regius professor of Hebrew to the university, and canon of Christ Church. He did not at first wholly sympathize with the Oxford Movement, which later came to be called "Puseyism," but after Newman had begun issuing the famous "Tracts for the Times" he contributed to the series several numbers on baptism and the Eucharist. In 1843 a sermon on "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent," which he preached on May 14 of that year, led to his condemnation for heresy by the vice-chancellor of Oxford and to his being suspended from preaching before the University for two years. After Newman's secession to Rome, Pusey was the virtual head of the Anglo-Catholic or Tractarian party and was subjected to much abuse and misrepresentation. He lived down the larger part of his unpopularity and in his later years devoted his energies to combating the latitudinarian tendencies within the establishment. He died at Ascot Priory, Berkshire, September 14, 1882. His preaching was commonly listened to with breathless attention by the great congregations who heard him. Pusey's "University Sermons" were issued in 1872, and other collections include "Sermons from Advent to Whitsuntide" (1848-53); "Parochial Sermons" (1848-69); "Lenten Sermons" (1874); "Parochial and Cathedral Sermons" (1883). See "Lives" by Saville (1883), Liddon (1893-98), and Church's "The Oxford Movement."

THE LOVE OF GOD FOR INDIVIDUAL SOULS

THE subject of our thoughts is the love of Almighty God for souls individually. What is a soul? It almost takes away one's breath to think of it; yet the thought is the groundwork of any estimate of its value. One hardly knows wherewith to begin, wherewith to end; yet since the soul was made by God, and God made it for himself, we had best begin by its relation to himself. So magnificent is the soul, such a marvellous creation of God, that thoughtful but misled minds of old have thought that, where it is said

"God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul," Scripture meant that God breathed man's soul into his body, as something of himself.

This were a very frightful heresy; for if the soul were something to God, a part of God, then, when the soul sinned, the blasphemy would follow that God sinned. Yet such is the majesty of the soul that some of old thought this and some still think it; only they thereby do not exalt the soul, but degrade God. Yet what Holy Scripture does speak of is a very near, close relation of the soul to God. "God breathed into him the breath of life." It expresses more than the mere act of will, by which "God made the heaven and the earth." By an act of will, by his word, he created things in all space, "heaven and the heaven of heavens," heavens, to which our heavens are as earth; "he spake, and they were made; he commanded, and they stood." Man he created individually. All besides was finished. Sun and moon and stars revolved in their courses; all the living creatures in air, earth, sea, were disporting themselves; each was arrayed in all its multitudinous beauty; and God paused! Time elapsed. The angels looked on wondering. And God, to express his thought of us, represents himself consulting within himself and resolving to make man "in our image and likeness." He saith: He, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. O wonderful soliloquy of God, Three but One! God consults within himself as to creating man, in redeeming and restoring whom the Three Blessed Persons were again to co-operate. They, through that mutual thought which is expressed to us as the speech of God determined to produce in act, then, him our forefather, and in him ourselves, foreshadowing his individual love for us in that he created us in one; us, whom he had determined in all eternity to create, knowing that we should be sinners.

In that eternal counsel it lay how the Father should then create, and the Son in the fulness of time should redeem, and God the Holy Ghost should recreate, and how our wasted nature should be restored by the common counsel of the Trinity.

Then followed the second dignity of man; that he should form us "in the image of God, after his likeness." Our being in his "image" consisted perhaps in the created correspondence of our being with his divine nature. Our mind, our knowledge, our love, have been thought to be a created image of the All-Holy Trinity. And our "likeness" has been thought to be in those moral qualities which are shadows of the infinite perfections of God, benevolence, gentleness, justice, truthfulness, and the rest; as Jesus also said to us, "Be ye then perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect;" "be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful." He made us likenesses of himself, not in those incommunicable attributes of All-Mightiness, Omniscience, Incomprehensibility, etc.; but he made us like him in all his attributes which are communicable to the creature, and reserved to himself his Infinity, whereby he has ever more, and will everlastingly have more and more, to give us. He has given to the soul to be immaterial, spiritual, individual as himself; to be henceforth eternal, deathless, ever-sentient as himself. He endowed it with free will, free as his own, which he himself will not break, will not force, will not constrain, except by the drawings of love. He gave it power, absolutely to rule itself and to rule the body, in which he had given it a sort of ubiquity, so that it inhabits the whole in the whole, and yet the whole in each part of the body. But he has, further beyond these positive endowments, given it an almost boundless capacity of growth and enlargement, a capaciousness to

contain his own wisdom, grace, virtue, goodness, beatitude. These are, so to speak, the soul's natural endowments. If such is the glass, what is the pearl? All these natural endowments were ensouled by the supernatural. In the first instant of his creation God infused the soul into the body by creating it, and created it by infusing it, and into the soul itself he, with grace, infused all virtues moral and theological, and gave it original righteousness, whereby he himself was present to it and held it to himself, so that without man's own will no inordinate emotion could arise in it or disturb the peace and holy uprightness, whereby all within him was subject to reason, and himself to God.

Yet even created grace were little for the soul. For God made the soul capable to contain himself, of union with himself by containing him. The soul is so large that, although it may be occupied by many things, although it is occupied, in turns, by all sorts of labor or knowledge or vanity, the whole world could not fill it. "For the soul which can contain God, nothing can fill which is less than God."

This was figured in the words: "He breathed into his nostrils." It was not himself that he inbreathed. Yet he wished to show God's especial nearness to man, and man's to God, the likeness of our spiritual nature to God, in that God inbreathed it, and that, at one time, God would be the indweller of the soul. O the marvellous condescension of our God, so to speak of our nearness to him, that we have to say that we are not part of him, that we are not what he is!

What God did in the creation of Adam is repeated in the creation of each individual soul. The creation of those, to us countless, souls is part of the perpetual immediate working of God, of which our blessed Lord says, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." All the rest of the visible creation

he either "upholds by the word of his power," as sun, moon, stars; or those things which are liable to decay, he ordains that they should be repaired by that mysterious law whereby he continues on the generations of the world. All things around us he worketh by such regular law, that men forget himself, the Great King, in the reign of his law. The angels, in their several orders, serve him in the fixed immutable allegiance of their love. Their numbers remain unchanged, except as far as they be replenished from our race. The object wherein God's immediate creative power and wisdom and love are seen is man. He commits our guardianship to angels; no angel or archangel or principality or power is admitted to any instrumentality in the creation of the human soul. The creation possible to God is infinite. Eternity could not exhaust it, if in all eternity God should create. Now he limits his creativeness and his will to communicate himself anew to his one creature, the human soul. It seems as if all his intelligent creation was to be fixed on this one transcending subject, the history of his love to our race. The angels, we know, "desire to look into" and know more of the mysteries of our redemption. Now all is suspended, that "through the Church," that is, through the mysteries of God's love in it, "may be known unto the principalities and powers in the heavenly places the manifold wisdom of God." And this his Church he fills up continually, and will fill up to the end, with human souls, which are, one by one, the subjects of his individual thought, of his individual care. Each one is as much the object of that infinite mind and counsel as if it was the solitary production of his omniscience.

Nor is it a mere production of his mind. That continual companion and brother of the soul, this poor body of ours,

receives its being in God's providence, and God creates and infuses into each just that soul which is most fit to be associated with each body. He combines the soul and body, and endows the one by his providence, the other by his own immediate creation, with those qualities which together may work most harmoniously to his glory and to the salvation of the being which he has created to find its bliss therein. We have been tempted, some of us, to wish we had this or that endowment, that we had been born under this or that outward circumstance. Faith tells us that he who loved us eternally and created us because he loved us and for his love so tempered us together that he could not have given us one gift which he has not given us, nay, not one degree of one gift, without risking our salvation. And this marvellous work is going on continuously. As it is calculated not a second passes but in it some human being is passing into eternity, so then, in every second, God is creating a new human soul to replace on this earth the soul which has been removed from it. It may be, at one time, in England or Europe, or in China or New Zealand. Wherever it is, God's omnipotent wisdom, whose "mercy is over all his works," is indivisibly, wholly there, in his own unchangeable rest, creating just that soul which will be, if it wills, most adapted to glorify him.

Yet this is only the general outline of his care. For he creates them not only for himself, but, as he said in the beginning, in his own "image and likeness." Every soul, then, bears some likeness to some perfection of God. As blade of grass differs from each other blade, and leaf from leaf, so and much more does soul from soul. And each soul, either in some one beauty or some ever-varied combination of different beauties, is an image of some perfection or com-

bined perfections of Almighty God. We can think of this more readily as to any one natural grace. Thus we see prominent in one an exact uprightness; in another, tenderness; in another, benevolence; in a fourth, love; in a fifth, an imperturbable patience and meekness; in a sixth, fiery zeal; in a seventh, a yearning over every form of human misery; and all these, and more, blended in as many proportions as there are human souls.

We are such souls; such is every soul for whom we pray. "The piece of silver" may be trampled upon in the mire of our Babylon. It has "the image and superscription" of God. It may be cleansed anew in the blood of Jesus, to shine forever in that place around the eternal throne which God created it to fill and to illuminate with his indwelling light. God himself can and wills to be again the soul of that soul. He is the natural life of the soul by creation; he wills to be its life supernaturally by grace. "Because God is the life of the soul, as, when it is in the body, it gives it vigor, beauty, power of motion, use of its every part, so, when God, its life, is in the soul, he gives it wisdom, righteousness, charity." "But as the body is dead when it hath not the soul, so the soul is dead when it is without God."

This is the awful reverse side of the picture. God has endowed the soul with this vast capacity even of himself; with this insatiable thirst even for himself; with this incapacity of being satisfied with anything out of himself. What then must it be to be eternally shut out from God? to have this knowledge, that God alone is the good of the soul, and yet to be incapable of loving him? to know that beings innumerable are in the full enjoyment of bliss in him? to be able to conceive something of the magnificence of that bliss? to know that it might once have attained to it?

to remember all the graces which God offered to it, or wherewith he arrayed it? to know that had it used them, it would be in that unspeakable bliss? and yet to be incapable of repenting, to cast all the blame upon God, to hate him as being, it thinks, the author of its misery? to accuse him for having given it that awful freedom to choose amiss? to feel the agony of everlasting hate, and yet to be incapable of repenting? to be encompassed with beings in whose horrible power it is, whom it hates, by whom it is hated, and this without hope?

These are the two states of the soul, for which every choice, good or ill, prepares it. Can we need more to make us pray earnestly for souls who are balancing between good and ill, or who have chosen ill, and who, if any abide in that choice, must loose God eternally, whom God's grace solicits and almost torments, but who have not yet resolved to embrace it? O, were it not worth a whole life to have won by our prayers one soul, to live forever with God?

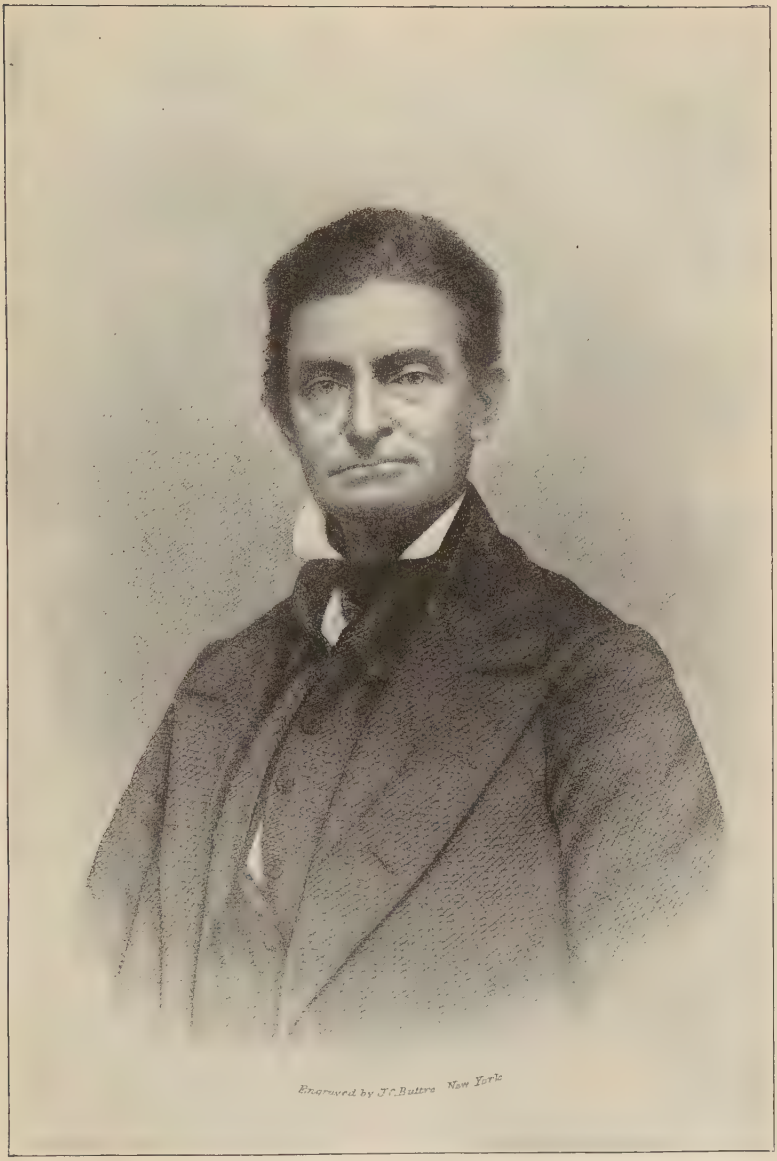
DICKINSON

DANIEL STEVENS DICKINSON, an American orator, was born at Goshen, Connecticut, September 11, 1800. After obtaining a common-school education he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1820. Removing to Binghamton, New York, in 1831, he made that town his home for the rest of his life. He entered the New York Senate in 1836 as a Democratic member, and was speedily an acknowledged leader among his political associates, one of his most noted speeches at this period being delivered in 1837, in opposition to the repeal of the usury laws. He served one term in Congress as senator, 1841-50, and for a part of the time was chairman of the Senate finance committee. His course as senator was conservative in character and he spoke frequently on such important questions as the Mexican war, the Wilmot proviso, and other issues of the time. He returned to the practice of his profession at Binghamton at the close of his term in Congress, and after the opening of the Civil War exerted all his extensive influence toward arousing Union sentiment, quite regardless of party ties, devoting the larger part of his time for three years to the delivery of patriotic addresses in New England and the Middle States. In 1861 he was elected attorney-general of New York, and for the last year of his life was United States district attorney for the southern district of New York. He died in New York city, April 12, 1866. Dickinson was a very logical debater and spoke with little apparent effort. His speeches abound in classical allusions and often display satirical passages. His "Speeches and Correspondence," with a memoir by his brother, appeared in 1867.

SPEECH AT WAR RATIFICATION MEETING

DELIVERED AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 8, 1862

I HAVE no new light upon the subject of this rebellion or the manner in which it should be treated. I stand to-day where I stood when Sumter fell—determined to see my country's flag vindicated—to see the supremacy of the constitution established and upheld—to see sovereign law acknowledged—to see rebellion crushed—to act with those, and those only, who would go all lengths to break it down—to act against all who would be its defenders or apologists—to act with those who, in pursuing rebellion, would stop only



JOHN BROWN

Orations—Volume thirteen

at the outposts of civilization and Christianity in efforts to destroy it—to employ every means, moral and material, known to man to cut it up and to put it down the most effectually, and at the earliest moment. I devoted seven of the best years of my life in efforts for the settlement of this accursed question peaceably—that it might be taken out of the political field North and South and be let alone to work out its own peculiar problem under the mysterious dispensation of a guiding and beneficent Providence. Now that it is unnecessarily made the pretext for a wicked and causeless rebellion by the southern people, I care not how soon I see its end. With no abolition proclivities, in a political sense, but the reverse, I would not have gone out of my way to look upon slavery in this conflict or to avoid slavery, but would have treated it like any other element, taking it when it would give us strength or weaken them, and employed it accordingly. I have never seen a moment since the outbreak when I would have touched the institution for itself alone, nor when I would not have cut it from its moorings in one hour if it would have aided in disposing of the rebellion, and I would do the same now. I hold the war power broad enough to cover the whole question, and I confess, in a time when our government is trembling in the balance before the world, I like to see it exercised when it is well and boldly and thoroughly done.

Let those who take the sword perish with the sword is my doctrine, and let those who raise a rebellious army against the constitution take just such aid and comfort as martial law and the war power in their utmost rigor mete out to them, whether it be hemp. or steel or lead or a confiscation of property. If slaves are property they are subject to the same rules as other property and should be treated accord-

ingly. There is no charm upon the subject and should be no mystification over it. I early saw that rebellion, if long continued, would end in emancipation—that from a necessity emancipation was to enter into the question, for as the rebellion progressed and declined and was on its last legs, it would at the last moment liberate the slaves in its desperation, if events had not sooner practically done so, or emancipation had not then been proclaimed by the federal government. I would have preferred practical and real acts in the premises as occasions demanded, under martial law as such, to theories or paper proclamations, for I hold the war power abundant and legislation unnecessary; but the President having determined upon a proclamation, I would have preferred to see how it would work in the last few months of the old year, to the first day of the new. But, if the proclamation weakens rebellion and strengthens government—as I hope and believe it will—I am for it and all its consequences, and any and every other measure which will conduce to that end. The institution has been overworked, and can no longer form political capital on either side, of which politicians of both shades will please take notice. It is to pass away during the present struggle, especially if long continued, and as an element of mischief and disturbance, and as a just retribution to those who have taken up arms against the government in its name for vile political ends, it has my permission to start at the earliest moment possible and to make the exodus a complete one. One such government is worth all the slavery that has existed since Joseph was sold into Egypt. If rebellion wishes to avoid these results and to invoke the constitution, let it acknowledge its supremacy, embrace the olive branch extended by the President, and lay down its arms and close its work of treason and murder. The cry that

released contrabands are coming North is for political effect and to secure votes from alarmed laborers. When slavery is no longer recognized in the southern States the colored race will not struggle for the cold North to compete with our laborers, but those now with us will seek a more congenial clime in the sunny South where the climate is more agreeable and the labor and productions better suited to their wants and tastes and habits. . . .

It is idle, my friends, to prosecute this war against rebellion by halves. It is worse than idle to send our sons to the field of blood and leave politicians at home who are denouncing government, apologizing for rebellion, and are inculcating, no matter how stealthily or covertly, cowardly and fatal propositions of peace. Rebellion knows, from spies and sympathizers quite too near us, what is going on in our midst as well as we do. It is struggling on in the hope that this peace party may gain the ascendency, when it expects to be forgiven for its treason, have murder washed from its bloody hands, and be rewarded for its villainy by liberal propositions. This party, with its propositions of peace, having been exposed, abashed, and ingloriously overthrown last year, has covered its framework thus, with a veneering of a different shade but quite too flimsy to deceive a discerning and loyal people. Like the cat in the fable, it has whitewashed its coat, but the teeth and claws are plainly discernible. Call back your sons, I repeat, or crush this insidious monster at home and the rebellion abroad together. Rebellion has lost faith in expected foreign recognition. Its miserable sympathizers in England lack courage to come to time. Even Disraeli, who, O'Connell said, was a regular lineal descendant of the hardened thief, fails to meet the occasion as expected. Its hope now rests in the aid and sympathy it can command in the loyal

States, to save it from the condign punishment and ignoble end which awaits it, and looks more to the success of this ticket to-day than to the exploits of Stonewall Jackson. Call back your sons, I say again, or crush this political hope of rebellion at home. When this hideous monster sees us united as one man, in one common purpose, to crush it, it will yield; but until then it will struggle on, like the writhings of a venomous serpent, till exterminated. It would long since have yielded but for hope of propositions of peace from political quarters and terms of accommodation; and but for seeing the executive denounced for unconstitutional acts, and a party rising up opposing the war in effect if not in name—for rebel leaders understand the matter in all its bearings.

Alas! how many brave spirits have been quenched forever because of this shameful, sinful division—by reason of this miserable political ambition to raise up a successful party at home to gain office and spoils. But God will bring its actors to judgment. Every household has been bereaved.

"There is no flock, however watched or tended,
But one dead lamb is there;
There is no fireside, howsoe'er defended,
But has one vacant chair.

"The air is full of farewells to the dying,
And mournings for the dead:
The heart of Rachel, for her children crying,
Will not be comforted."

Our fair-haired boys perilled their lives in endeavoring to crush a rebellion which gains hope, and tenacity, and endurance, and perseverance, in its work of conspiracy and treason and murder, and holds on because it sees a peace-war party rising up stealthily and in disguise among us at home. Their bones are bleaching upon every battlefield in the rebel States. Those who loved them ask you where they are! You cannot raise the dead; but, in the name of heaven, call back the

living that are yet spared to us, or destroy at one blow one of the chief hopes of rebellion at home,—a political organization to which rebellion instinctively turns for relief. But yesterday a proud boy in the heyday of life and hope fell. He was the only son of his mother, and she was a widow; he fell by the hand of a rebel murderer, nerved on by the hope that political divisions in the loyal States would give rebellion aid and comfort and propositions of peace. She asks you with trembling lip and tearful eye for the idol of her heart, her hope and joy. May he who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb protect her! You cannot restore her child, but you can destroy one of the accursed causes which protract this bloody and terrible war,—the politicians' hope. The storms of autumn beat upon the log-cabin standing by the little brook beyond the hills. The winds moan, and the leaves rustle, and night is gathering. A woman weeps over a hearth, cold and cheerless, and desolate. A group of little children, with curious, anxious faces, hang upon her knee wondering why she weeps, and are asking for their father.

> "Alas!
> Nor wife, nor children, more shall he behold;
> Nor friends, nor sacred home."

He fills an unknown bloody grave in the land of rebellion, where he marched to aid in preserving the inheritance of his revolutionary sire. But he was murdered in expectation of propositions of peace from politicians, who fear rebellion will not be constitutionally treated, or in the hope of some new reading of the constitution which would exempt rebellion from censure and punishment. That bereaved widow in her destitution looks to you. Those children "demand their sire with tears of artless innocence." You cannot restore him. God alone can shield and comfort the widow and the father-

less. But you can remove one of the chief causes which serves to protract this hellish malignity and mischief at the ballot-box. You can cancel the demands of hungry politicians. A settler in the far West upon the Indian border has volunteered, with the true spirit of the pioneer, to defend his country's flag. His wife and children are aroused from their slumbers at midnight by the yells of savage hell-hounds, to perish by the tomahawk and scalping-knife; the cabin is in flames, and the ferocious monsters, with hands dripping with the blood of innocence, bear away their trophies to exhibit for reward to more ferocious monsters still—savages professing Christianity—conspirators and rebels who stimulate the red man to murder defenceless women and children that they may procure from political traders at an early moment liberal propositions of peace and compromise. That borderer will return to greet his loved ones, but they are not there. A heap of ashes is all that is left him; tears roll copiously down his sunburnt visage, but, like the fallow-deer, he weeps alone. You cannot bring back to his embrace the beloved object of his affection, but by precept and example you can aid in removing the detestable hope that a political party can succeed in whole or in part in sympathy with rebellion.

Let, then, I say, the people of the loyal States be united—let them act together as one man. Let no political organization, as such, be supported or encouraged or tolerated; but let all lovers of their country and its institutions meet for public action and effort in a common union. Let rebellion in all its protean forms and all its elements be crushed by every hand and cursed by every lip, in its moral or material forces, in the egg or in the serpent, open or disguised, in its full strength or diluted, in the field or in the political canvass, in battles of blood or at the polls, at home or abroad. This

is demanded in the name of revolutionary memories, in the name of liberty and the rights of man, in the sacred name of humanity and religion, in the name of fathers whose sons have been slain, of widows whose husbands have been murdered, or mothers who have been bereaved of their children, of children who have been robbed of those to whom Providence taught them to look for protection, of society which mourns the destruction of its members, of the dead whose blood has been shed to preserve our government from shame, our land from desecration, our homes from the torch—in the name of justice, truth, and peace, and of man's last best hope beneath the skies. Rebellion is doomed; its last hope is in political aid by home divisions. Destroy this hope, and our government shall never die.

BANCROFT

GEORGE BANCROFT, a famous American historian and diplomatist, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, October 3, 1800, and graduated at Harvard University at the age of seventeen. He immediately proceeded to Germany, where he studied literature, theology, and history, and obtained the degree of Ph.D. at Göttingen. At Berlin he made the acquaintance of Humboldt and other distinguished Germans, and at Jena became intimate with Goethe. He returned to America in 1822 and served for a year at Harvard as tut in Greek. In 1830 he was elected to the legislature, but refused to take his seat; the following year he declined a nomination to the Senate. In 1834 he published the first volume of his "History of the United States," which was only finished in 1874. In 1835 he removed from Northampton to Springfield, and in 1838 he was appointed collector of the port of Boston. In 1844 he was nominated as governor of Massachusetts, but failed of election. During the presidency of President Polk he was secretary of the navy, and was instrumental in establishing the naval academy at Annapolis. He also ordered the occupation of California during the war with Mexico. In 1846 he was sent to the Court of St. James as minister, and successfully urged on the British ministry the adoption of more liberal laws of navigation and the like. In 1867 he was sent as minister to Prussia, in 1868 to the North German Confederation, and in 1871 to the German Empire, where he remained three years. He died in Washington January 17, 1891. Among Bancroft's minor publications are the orations which he delivered at various times: on July 4, 1826, at Northampton; on the death of Andrew Jackson, delivered at Washington, June 27, 1845; memorial address on the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, delivered before the two houses of Congress, Feb. 12, 1866. His last address was given before the American Historical Society, April 27, 1886, of which he was president. Few Americans have had wider fame or been more honored.

THE OFFICE OF THE PEOPLE IN ART, GOVERNMENT, AND RELIGION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE ADELPHI SOCIETY OF WILLIAMSTOWN COLLEGE IN AUGUST, 1835

I

THE material world does not change in its masses or in its powers. The stars shine with no more lustre than when they first sang together in the glory of their birth. The flowers that gemmed the fields and the forests

before America was discovered now bloom around us in their season. The sun that shone on Homer shines on us in unchanging lustre. The bow that beamed on the patriarch still glitters in the clouds. Nature is the same. For her no new forces are generated; no new capacities are discovered. The earth turns on its axis, and perfects its revolutions, and renews its seasons, without increase or advancement.

But a like passive destiny does not attach to the inhabitants of the earth. For them the expectations of social improvement are no delusion; the hopes of philanthropy are more than a dream. The five senses do not constitute the whole inventory of our sources of knowledge. They are the organs by which thought connects itself with the external universe; but the power of thought is not merged in the exercise of its instruments. We have functions which connect us with heaven, as well as organs which set us in relation with earth. We have not merely the senses opening to us the external world, but an internal sense which places us in connection with the world of intelligence and the decrees of God.

There is a spirit in man: not in the privileged few; not in those of us only who by the favor of Providence have been nursed in public schools: it is in man: it is the attribute of the race. The spirit, which is the guide to truth, is the gracious gift to each member of the human family.

Reason exists within every breast. I mean not that faculty which deduces inferences from the experience of the senses, but that higher faculty, which from the infinite treasures of its own consciousness, originates truth and assents to it by the force of intuitive evidence; that faculty which raises us beyond the control of time and space and gives us faith in things eternal and invisible. There is not the difference between one mind and another which the pride of philosophers

might conceive. To them no faculty is conceded which does not belong to the meanest of their countrymen. In them there can not spring up a truth which does not equally have its germ in every mind. They have not the power of creation; they can but reveal what God has implanted in every breast.

The intellectual functions, by which relations are perceived, are the common endowments of the race. The differences are apparent, not real. The eye in one person may be dull, in another quick, in one distorted, and in another tranquil and clear; yet the relation of the eye to light is in all men the same. Just so judgment may be liable in individual minds to the bias of passion, and yet its relation to truth is immutable and is universal.

In questions of practical duty, conscience is God's umpire, whose light illumines every heart. There is nothing in books which had not first and has not still its life within us. Religion itself is a dead letter wherever its truths are not renewed in the soul. Individual conscience may be corrupted by interest, or debauched by pride, yet the rule of morality is distinctly marked; its harmonies are to the mind like music to the ear; and the moral judgment, when carefully analyzed and referred to its principles, is always founded in right. The eastern superstition which bids its victims prostrate themselves before the advancing car of their idols springs from a noble root and is but a melancholy perversion of that self-devotion which enables the Christian to bear the cross and subject his personal passions to the will of God. Immorality of itself never won to its support the inward voice; conscience, if questioned, never forgets to curse the guilty with the memory of sin, to cheer the upright with the meek tranquillity of approval. And this admirable power, which

is the instinct of deity, is the attribute of every man; it knocks at the palace gate, it dwells in the meanest hovel. Duty, like death, enters every abode and delivers its message. Conscience, like reason and judgment, is universal.

That the moral affections are planted everywhere needs only to be asserted to be received. The savage mother loves her offspring with all the fondness that a mother can know. Beneath the odorous shade of the boundless forests of Chili the native youth repeats the story of love as sincerely as it was ever chanted in the valley of Vaucluse. The affections of family are not the growth of civilization. The charities of life are scattered everywhere; enamelling the vales of human being as the flowers paint the meadows. They are not the fruit of study nor the privilege of refinement, but a natural instinct.

Our age has seen a revolution in works of imagination. The poet has sought his theme in common life. Never is the genius of Scott more pathetic than when, as in "The Antiquary," he delineates the sorrows of a poor fisherman, or as in "The Heart of Midlothian," he takes his heroine from a cottage. And even Wordsworth, the purest and most original poet of the day, in spite of the inveterate character of his political predilections, has thrown the light of genius on the walks of commonest life; he finds a lesson in every grave of the village churchyard; he discloses the boundless treasures of feeling in the peasant, the laborer, and the artisan; the strolling peddler becomes, through his genius, a teacher of the sublimest morality; and the solitary wagoner, the lonely shepherd, even the feeble mother of an idiot boy, furnishes lessons in the reverence for humanity.

If from things relating to truth, justice, and affection, we turn to those relating to the beautiful, we may here still

further assert that the sentiment for the beautiful resides in every breast. The lovely forms of the external world delight us from their adaptation to our powers.

> "Yea, what were mighty Nature's self?
> Her features could they win us,
> Unhelped by the poetic voice
> That hourly speaks within us?"

The Indian mother on the borders of Hudson's Bay decorates her manufactures with ingenious devices and lovely colors, prompted by the same instinct which guided the pencil and mixed the colors of Raphael. The inhabitant of Nootka Sound tattoos his body with the method of harmonious Arabesques. Every form to which the hands of the artist have ever given birth sprung first into being as a conception of his mind, from a natural faculty which belongs not to the artist exclusively, but to man. Beauty, like truth and justice, lives within us; like virtue and like moral law, it is a companion of the soul. The power which leads to the production of beautiful forms or to the perception of them in the works which God has made is an attribute of humanity.

But I am asked if I despise learning? Shall one who has spent much of his life in schools and universities plead the equality of uneducated nature? Is there no difference between the man of refinement and the savage?

"I am a man," said Black Hawk nobly to the chief of the first republic in the world; "I am a man," said the barbarous chieftain, "and you are another."

I speak for the universal diffusion of human powers, not of human attainments; for the capacity for progress, not for the protection of undisciplined instincts. The fellowship which we should cherish with the race receives the Comanche warrior and the Caffre within the pale of equality. Their functions may not have been exercised, but they exist. Im-

mure a person in a dungeon; as he comes to the light of day his vision seems incapable of performing its office. Does that destroy your conviction in the relation between the eye and light? The rioter over his cups resolves to eat and drink and be merry; he forgets his spiritual nature in his obedience to the senses; but does that destroy the relation between conscience and eternity? "What ransom shall we give?" exclaimed the senators of Rome to the savage Attila. "Give," said the barbarian, "all your gold and jewels, your costly furniture and treasures, and set free every slave." "Ah," replied the degenerate Romans, "what then will be left to us?" "I leave you your souls," replied the unlettered invader from the steppes of Asia, who had learnt in the wilderness to value the immortal mind and to despise the servile herd that esteemed only their fortunes and had no true respect for themselves. You cannot discover a tribe of men but you also find the charities of life and the proofs of spiritual existence. Behold the ignorant Algonquin deposit a bow and quiver by the side of the departed warrior; and recognize his faith in immortality. See the Comanche chieftain, in the heart of our continent, inflict on himself severest penance; and reverence his confession of the needed atonement for sin. The barbarian who roams our western prairies has like passions and like endowments with ourselves. He bears within him the instinct of deity; the consciousness of a spiritual nature; the love of beauty; the rule of morality.

And shall we reverence the dark-skinned Caffre? Shall we respect the brutal Hottentot? You may read the right answer written on every heart. It bids me not despise the sable hunter that gathers a livelihood in the forests of southern Africa. All are men. When we know the Hottentot better we shall despise him less.

II

If it be true that the gifts of mind and heart are universally diffused, if the sentiment of truth, justice, love, and beauty exist in every one, then it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the common judgment in taste, politics, and religion is the highest authority on earth and the nearest possible approach to an infallible decision. From the consideration of individual powers I turn to the action of the human mind in masses.

If reason is a universal faculty, the universal decision is the nearest criterion of truth. The common mind winnows opinions; it is the sieve which separates error from certainty. The exercise by many of the same faculty on the same subject would naturally lead to the same conclusions. But if not, the very differences of opinion that arise prove the supreme judgment of the general mind. Truth is one. It never contradicts itself. One truth cannot contradict another truth. Hence truth is a bond of union. But error not only contradicts truth, but may contradict itself; so that there may be many errors and each at variance with the rest. Truth is therefore of necessity an element of harmony; error as necessarily an element of discord. Thus there can be no continuing universal judgment but a right one. Men cannot agree in an absurdity; neither can they agree in a falsehood.

If wrong opinions have often been cherished by the masses, the cause always lies in the complexity of the ideas presented. Error finds its way into the soul of a nation only through the channel of truth. It is to a truth that men listen; and if they accept error also it is only because

the error is for the time so closely interwoven with the truth that the one cannot readily be separated from the other.

Unmixed error can have no existence in the public mind. Wherever you see men clustering together to form a party, you may be sure that however much error may be there, truth is there also. Apply this principle boldly; for it contains a lesson of candor and a voice of encouragement. There never was a school of philosophy, nor a clan in the realm of opinion, but carried along with it some important truth. And therefore every sect that has ever flourished has benefited humanity; for the errors of a sect pass away and are forgotten; its truths are received into the common inheritance. To know the seminal thought of every prophet and leader of a sect is to gather all the wisdom of mankind.

> "By heaven! there should not be a seer who left
> The world one doctrine, but I'd task his lore,
> And commune with his spirit. All the truth
> Of all the tongues of earth, I'd have them all,
> Had I the powerful spell to raise their ghosts."

The sentiment of beauty as it exists in the human mind is the criterion in works of art, inspires the conceptions of genius, and exercises a final judgment on its productions. For who are the best judges in matters of taste? Do you think the cultivated individual? Undoubtedly not; but the collective mind. The public is wiser than the wisest critic. In Athens the arts were carried to perfection when "the fierce democracie" was in the ascendant; the temple of Minerva and the works of Phidias were planned and perfected to please the common people. When Greece yielded to tyrants her genius for excellence in art expired; or rather the purity of taste disappeared; because the artist then endeavored to gratify a patron and therefore humored his

caprice; while before he had endeavored to delight the race.

When, after a long eclipse, the arts again burst into a splendid existence, it was equally under a popular influence. During the rough contests and feudal tyrannies of the Middle Ages religion had opened in the church an asylum for the people. There the serf and the beggar could kneel; there the pilgrim and the laborer were shrived; and the children of misfortune not less than the prosperous were welcomed to the house of prayer. The church was consequently at once the guardian of equality and the nurse of the arts; and the souls of Giotto, and Perugino, and Raphael, moved by an infinite sympathy with the crowd, kindled into divine conceptions of beautiful forms. Appealing to the sentiment of devotion in the common mind they dipped their pencils in living colors to decorate the altars where man adored. By degrees the wealthy nobility desired in like manner to adorn their palaces; but at the attempt the quick familiarity of the artist with the beautiful declined. Instead of the brilliant works which spoke to the soul a school arose who appealed to the senses; and in the land which had produced the most moving pictures, addressed to the religious feeling and instinct with the purest beauty, the banquet halls were covered with grotesque forms, such as float before the imagination when excited and bewildered by sensual indulgence. Instead of holy families, the ideal representations of the virgin mother and the godlike child, of the enduring faith of martyrs, of the blessed benevolence of evangelic love, there came the motley group of fawns and satyrs, of Diana stooping to Endymion, of voluptuous beauty, and the forms of licentiousness. Humanity frowned on the desecration of the arts; and painting, no longer vivified by a fellow-feeling with the multitude, lost

its greatness in the attempt to adapt itself to personal humors.

If with us the arts are destined to a brilliant career, the inspiration must spring from the vigor of the people. Genius will not create, to flatter patrons or decorate saloons. It yearns for larger influences; it feeds on wider sympathies; and its perfect display can never exist except in an appeal to the general sentiment for the beautiful.

Again. Italy is famed for its musical compositions, its inimitable operas. It is a well-known fact that the best critics are often deceived in their judgment of them; while the pit, composed of the throng, does, without fail, render a true verdict.

But the taste for music, it may be said, is favored by natural organization. Precisely a statement that sets in a clearer light the natural capacity of the race; for taste is then not an acquisition but in part a gift. But let us pass to works of literature.

Who are by way of eminence the poets of all mankind? Surely Homer and Shakespeare. Now Homer formed his taste as he wandered from door to door, a vagrant minstrel, paying for hospitality by a song; and Shakespeare wrote for an audience composed in a great measure of the common people.

The little story of Paul and Virginia is a universal favorite.
13 When it was first written the author read it aloud to a circle in Paris, composed of the wife of the prime minister and the choicest critics of France. They condemned it as dull and insipid. The author appealed to the public; and the children of all Europe reversed the decree of the Parisians. The judgment of children, that is, the judgment of the common mind under its most innocent and least imposing form,

was more trustworthy than the criticism of the select refinement of the most polished city in the world.

Demosthenes of old formed himself to the perfection of eloquence by means of addresses to the crowd. The great comic poet of Greece, emphatically the poet of the vulgar mob, is distinguished above all others for the incomparable graces of his diction; and it is related of one of the most skilful writers in the Italian, that when inquired of where he had learned the purity and nationality of his style, he replied, from listening to the country people as they brought their produce to market.

At the revival of letters a distinguishing feature of the rising literature was the employment of the dialect of the vulgar. Dante used the language of the populace and won immortality; Wickliffe, Luther, and at a later day Descartes, each employed his mother tongue and carried truth directly to all who were familiar with its accents. Every beneficent revolution in letters has the character of popularity; every great reform among authors has sprung from the power of the people in its influence on the development and activity of mind.

The same influence continues unimpaired. Scott, in spite of his reverence for the aristocracy, spurned a drawing-room reputation; the secret of Byron's superiority lay in part in the agreement which existed between his muse and the democratic tendency of the age. German literature is almost entirely a popular creation. It was fostered by no monarch; it was dandled by no aristocracy. It was plebeian in its origin and therefore manly in its results.

III

In like manner the best government rests on the people and not on the few, on persons and not on property, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority; because the munificent Author of our being has conferred the gifts of mind upon every member of the human race without distinction of outward circumstances. Whatever of other possessions may be engrossed, mind asserts its own independence. Lands, estates, the produce of mines, the prolific abundance of the seas, may be usurped by a privileged class. Avarice, assuming the form of ambitious power, may grasp realm after realm, subdue continents, compass the earth in its schemes of aggrandizement, and sigh after other worlds; but mind eludes the power of appropriation; it exists only in its own individuality; it is a property which cannot be confiscated and cannot be torn away; it laughs at chains; it bursts from imprisonment; it defies monopoly. A government of equal rights must therefore rest upon mind; not wealth, not brute force; the sum of the moral intelligence of the community should rule the State. Prescription can no more assume to be a valid plea for political injustice; society studies to eradicate established abuses and to bring social institutions and laws into harmony with moral right; not dismayed by the natural and necessary imperfections of all human effort and not giving way to despair because every hope does not at once ripen into fruit.

The public happiness is the true object of legislation and can be secured only by the masses of mankind themselves awakening to the knowledge and the care of their own interests. Our free institutions have reversed the false and ignoble distinctions between men; and refusing to gratify the

pride of caste have acknowledged the common mind to be the true material for a commonwealth. Everything has hitherto been done for the happy few. It is not possible to endow an aristocracy with greater benefits than they have already enjoyed; there is no room to hope that individuals will be more highly gifted or more fully developed than the greatest sages of past times. The world can advance only through the culture of the moral and intellectual powers of the people. To accomplish this end by means of the people themselves is the highest purpose of government. If it be the duty of the individual to strive after a perfection like the perfection of God, how much more ought a nation to be the image of deity. The common mind is the true Parian marble, fit to be wrought into likeness to a god. The duty of America is to secure the culture and the happiness of the masses by their reliance on themselves.

The absence of the prejudices of the Old World leaves us here the opportunity of consulting independent truth; and man is left to apply the instinct of freedom to every social relation and public interest. We have approached so near to nature that we can hear her gentlest whispers; we have made humanity our lawgiver and our oracle; and therefore the nation receives, vivifies, and applies principles, which in Europe the wisest accept with distrust. Freedom of mind and of conscience, freedom of the seas, freedom of industry, equality of franchises, each great truth is firmly grasped, comprehended, and enforced; for the multitude is neither rash nor fickle. In truth, it is less fickle than those who profess to be its guides. Its natural dialectics surpass the logic of the schools. Political action has never been so consistent and so unwavering as when it results from a feeling or a principle diffused through society. The people is firm and

tranquil in its movements, and necessarily acts with moderation, because it becomes but slowly impregnated with new ideas; and effects no changes except in harmony with the knowledge which it has acquired. Besides, where it is permanently possessed of power, there exists neither the occasion nor the desire for frequent change. It is not the parent of tumult; sedition is bred in the lap of luxury and its chosen emissaries are the beggared spendthrift and the impoverished libertine. The government by the people is in very truth the strongest government in the world. Discarding the implements of terror, it dares to rule by moral force and has its citadel in the heart.

Such is the political system which rests on reason, reflection, and the free expression of deliberate choice. There may be those who scoff at the suggestion that the decision of the whole is to be preferred to the judgment of the enlightened few. They say in their hearts that the masses are ignorant; that farmers know nothing of legislation; that mechanics should not quit their workshops to join in forming public opinion. But true political science does indeed venerate the masses. It maintains, not as has been perversely asserted, that "the people can make right," but that the people can discern right. Individuals are but shadows, too often engrossed by the pursuit of shadows; the race is immortal: individuals are of limited sagacity; the common mind is infinite in its experience: individuals are languid and blind; the many are ever wakeful: individuals are corrupt; the race has been redeemed: individuals are time-serving; the masses are fearless: individuals may be false; the masses are ingenuous and sincere: individuals claim the divine sanction of truth for the deceitful conceptions of their own fancies; the Spirit of God breathes through the combined intelli-

gence of the people. Truth is not to be ascertained by the impulses of an individual; it emerges from the contradictions of personal opinions; it raises itself in majestic serenity above the strifes of parties and the conflict of sects; it acknowledges neither the solitary mind nor the separate faction as its oracle; but owns as its only faithful interpreter the dictates of pure reason itself, proclaimed by the general voice of mankind. The decrees of the universal conscience are the nearest approach to the presence of God in the soul of man.

Thus the opinion which we respect is indeed not the opinion of one or of a few, but the sagacity of the many. It is hard for the pride of cultivated philosophy to put its ear to the ground and listen reverently to the voice of lowly humanity; yet the people collectively are wiser than the most gifted individual, for all his wisdom constitutes but a part of theirs. When the great sculptor of Greece was endeavoring to fashion the perfect model of beauty, he did not passively imitate the form of the loveliest woman of his age; but he gleaned the several lineaments of his faultless work from the many. And so it is, that a perfect judgment is the result of comparison, when error eliminates error, and truth is established by concurring witnesses. The organ of truth is the invisible decision of the unbiased world; she pleads before no tribunal but public opinion; she owns no safe interpreter but the common mind; she knows no court of appeals but the soul of humanity. It is when the multitude give counsel that right purposes find safety; theirs is the fixedness that cannot be shaken; theirs is the understanding which exceeds in wisdom; theirs is the heart, of which the largeness is as the sand on the seashore.

It is not by vast armies, by immense natural resources, by accumulations of treasure, that the greatest results in modern

civilization have been accomplished. The traces of the career of conquest pass away, hardly leaving a scar on the national intelligence. The famous battle grounds of victory are, most of them, comparatively indifferent to the human race; barren fields of blood, the scourges of their times, but affecting the social condition as little as the raging of a pestilence. Not one benevolent institution, not one ameliorating principle in the Roman state was a voluntary concession of the aristocracy; each useful element was borrowed from the democracies of Greece, or was a reluctant concession to the demands of the people. The same is true in modern political life. It is the confession of an enemy to democracy, that "all the great and noble institutions of the world have come from popular efforts."

It is the uniform tendency of the popular element to elevate and bless humanity. The exact measure of the progress of civilization is the degree in which the intelligence of the common mind has prevailed over wealth and brute force; in other words, the measure of the progress of civilization is the progress of the people. Every great object connected with the benevolent exertions of the day has reference to the culture of those powers which are alone the common inheritance. For this the envoys of religion cross seas and visit remotest isles; for this the press in its freedom teems with the productions of maturest thought; for this the philanthropist plans new schemes of education; for this halls in every city and village are open to the public instructor. Not that we view with indifference the glorious efforts of material industry; the increase in the facility of internal intercourse; the accumulations of thrifty labor; the varied results of concentrated action. But even there it is mind that achieves the triumph. It is the genius of the architect that gives beauty

to the work of human hands, and makes the temple, the dwelling, or the public edifice an outward representation of the spirit of propriety and order. It is science that guides the blind zeal of cupidity to the construction of the vast channels of communication which are fast binding the world into one family. And it is as a method of moral improvement that these swifter means of intercourse derive their greatest value. Mind becomes universal property; the poem that is published on the soil of England finds its response on the shores of Lake Erie and the banks of the Missouri and is admired near the sources of the Ganges. The defence of public liberty in our own halls of legislation penetrates the plains of Poland, is echoed along the mountains of Greece, and pierces the darkest night of eastern despotism.

The universality of the intellectual and moral powers, and the necessity of their development for the progress of the race, proclaim the great doctrine of the natural right of every human being to moral and intellectual culture. It is the glory of our fathers to have established in their laws the equal claims of every child to the public care of its morals and its mind. From this principle we may deduce the universal right to leisure; that is, to time not appropriated to material purposes, but reserved for the culture of the moral affections and the mind. It does not tolerate the exclusive enjoyment of leisure by a privileged class; but defending the rights of labor, would suffer none to sacrifice the higher purposes of existence in unceasing toil for that which is not life. Such is the voice of nature; such the conscious claim of the human mind. The universe opens its pages to every eye; the music of creation resounds in every ear; the glorious lessons of immortal truth that are written in the sky and on the earth address themselves to every mind and claim attention from

every human being. God has made man upright, that he might look before and after; and he calls upon every one not merely to labor, but to reflect; not merely to practise the revelations of divine will, but to contemplate the displays of divine power. Nature claims for every man leisure, for she claims every man as a witness to the divine glory manifested in the created world.

"Yet evermore, through years renewed
In undisturbed vicissitude
Of seasons balancing their flight
On the swift wings of day and night,
Kind nature keeps a heavenly door
Wide open for the scattered poor,
Where flower-breathed incense to the skies
Is wafted in mute harmonies;
And ground, fresh cloven by the plough,
Is fragrant with an humbler vow;
Where birds and brooks from leafy dells
Chime forth unwearied canticles,
And vapors magnify and spread
The glory of the sun's bright head;
Still constant in her worship, still
Conforming to the Almighty Will,
Whether men sow or reap the fields,
Her admonitions nature yields;
That not by bread alone we live,
Or what a hand of flesh can give;
That every day should leave some part
Free for a sabbath of the heart;
So shall the seventh be truly blest,
From morn to eve, with hallowed rest."

The right to universal education being thus acknowledged by our conscience, not less than by our laws, it follows that the people is the true recipient of truth. Do not seek to conciliate individuals; do not dread the frowns of a sect; do not yield to the proscriptions of a party; but pour out truth into the common mind. Let the waters of intelligence, like the rains of heaven, descend on the whole earth. And be not discouraged by the dread of encountering ignorance. The prejudices of ignorance are more easily removed than the prejudices of interest; the first are blindly adopted; the

second wilfully preferred. Intelligence must be diffused among the whole people; truth must be scattered among those who have no interest to suppress its growth. The seeds that fall on the exchange, or in the hum of business, may be choked by the thorns that spring up in the hotbed of avarice; the seeds that are let fall in the saloon may be like those dropped by the wayside, which take no root. Let the young aspirant after glory scatter the seeds of truth broadcast on the wide bosom of humanity; in the deep, fertile soil of the public mind. There they will strike deep root and spring up, and bear an hundredfold, and bloom for ages, and ripen fruit through remote generations.

It is alone by infusing great principles into the common mind that revolutions in human society are brought about. They never have been, they never can be, effected by superior individual excellence. The age of the Antonines is the age of the greatest glory of the Roman empire. Men distinguished by every accomplishment of culture and science, for a century in succession, possessed undisputed sway over more than a hundred millions of men; till at last, in the person of Mark Aurelian, philosophy herself seemed to mount the throne. And did she stay the downward tendencies of the Roman empire? Did she infuse new elements of life into the decaying constitution? Did she commence one great, beneficent reform? Not one permanent amelioration was effected; philosophy was clothed with absolute power; and yet absolute power accomplished nothing for humanity. It could accomplish nothing. Had it been possible, Aurelian would have wrought a change. Society can be regenerated, the human race can be advanced, only by moral principles diffused through the multitude.

And now let us take an opposite instance; let us see if

amelioration follows, when in despite of tyranny truth finds access to the common people; and Christianity itself shall furnish my example.

When Christianity first made its way into Rome the imperial city was the seat of wealth, philosophy, and luxury. Absolute government was already established; and had the will of Claudius been gained, or the conscience of Messalina been roused, or the heart of Narcissus, once a slave, then prime minister, been touched by the recollections of his misfortunes, the aid of the sovereign of the civilized world would have been engaged. And did the messenger of divine truth make his appeal to them? Was his mission to the emperor and his minions, to the empress and her flatterers? to servile senators? to wealthy favorites? Paul preserves for us the names of the first converts; the Roman Mary and Junia; Julia and Nerea; and the beloved brethren; all plebeian names, unknown to history. "Greet them," he adds, "that be of the household of Narcissus." Now every Roman household was a community of slaves. Narcissus himself, a freedman, was the chief minister of the Roman empire; his ambition had left him no moments for the envoy from Calvary; the friends of Paul were a freedman's slaves. When God selected the channel by which Christianity should make its way in the city of Rome, and assuredly be carried forward to acknowledged supremacy in the Roman empire, he gave to the Apostle of the Gentiles favor in the household of Narcissus; he planted truth deep in the common soil. Had Christianity been received at court it would have been stifled or corrupted by the prodigal vices of the age; it lived in the hearts of the common people; it sheltered itself against oppression in the catacombs and among tombs; it made misfortune its convert, and sorrow its companion, and labor its

stay. It rested on a rock, for it rested on the people; it was gifted with immortality, for it struck root in the hearts of the million.

So completely was this greatest of all reforms carried forward in the vale of life, that the great moral revolution, the great step of God's Providence in the education of the human race, was not observed by the Roman historians. Once, indeed, at this early period Christians are mentioned; for in the reign of Nero, their purity being hateful to the corrupt, Nero abandoned them to persecution. In the darkness of midnight they were covered with pitch and set on fire to light the streets of Rome, and this singularity has been recorded. But their system of morals and religion, though it was the new birth of the world, escaped all notice.

Paul, who was a Roman citizen, was beheaded just outside of the walls of the eternal city; and Peter, who was a plebeian and could not claim the distinction of the axe and the block, was executed on the cross, with his head downwards to increase the pain and the indignity. Do you think the Roman emperor took notice of the names of these men when he signed their death-warrant? And yet, as they poured truth into the common mind, what series of kings, what lines of emperors, can compare with them in their influence on the destinies of mankind?

Yes, reforms in society are only effected through the masses of the people, and through them have continually taken place. New truths have been successively developed, and, becoming the common property of the human family have improved its condition. This progress is advanced by every sect, precisely because each sect, to obtain vitality, does of necessity embody a truth; by every political party, for the conflicts of party are the war of ideas; by every nationality,

for a nation cannot exist as such till humanity makes it a special trustee of some part of its wealth for the ultimate benefit of all. The irresistible tendency of the human race is therefore to advancement, for absolute power has never succeeded, and can never succeed, in suppressing a single truth. An idea once revealed may find its admission into every living breast and live there. Like God, it becomes immortal and omnipresent. The movement of the species is upward, irresistibly upward. The individual is often lost; Providence never disowns the race. No principle once promulgated has ever been forgotten. No " timely tramp " of a despot's foot ever trod out one idea. The world cannot retrograde; the dark ages cannot return. Dynasties perish; cities are buried; nations have been victims to error, or martyrs for right; humanity has always been on the advance, gaining maturity, universality, and power.

Yes, truth is immortal; it cannot be destroyed; it is invincible, it cannot long be resisted. Not every great principle has yet been generated; but when once proclaimed and diffused it lives without end in the safe custody of the race. States may pass away; every just principle of legislation which has been once established will endure. Philosophy has sometimes forgotten God; a great people never did. The scepticism of the last century could not uproot Christianity because it lived in the hearts of the millions. Do you think that infidelity is spreading? Christianity never lived in the hearts of so many millions as at this moment. The forms under which it is professed may decay, for they, like all that is the work of man's hands, are subject to the changes and chances of mortal being; but the spirit of truth is incorruptible; it may be developed, illustrated, and applied; it never can die; it never can decline.

No truth can perish; no truth can pass away. The flame is undying, though generations disappear. Wherever moral truth has started into being, humanity claims and guards the bequest. Each generation gathers together the imperishable children of the past, and increases them by new sons of light, alike radiant with immortality.

ORATION ON ANDREW JACKSON

DELIVERED AT THE COMMEMORATION OF HIS DEATH IN WASHINGTON, JUNE 27, 1845

THE men of the American revolution are no more. That age of creative power has passed away. The last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence has long since left the earth. Washington lies near his own Potomac, surrounded by his family and his servants. Adams, the colossus of independence, reposes in the modest graveyard of his native region. Jefferson sleeps on the heights of his own Monticello, whence his eye overlooked his beloved Virginia. Madison, the last survivor of the men who made our constitution, lives only in our hearts. But who shall say that the heroes, in whom the image of God shone most brightly, do not exist forever? They were filled with the vast conceptions which called America into being; they lived for those conceptions; and their deeds praise them.

We are met to commemorate the virtues of one who shed his blood for our independence, took part in winning the territory and forming the early institutions of the west, and was imbued with all the great ideas which constitute the moral force of our country. On the spot where he gave his solemn fealty to the people—here, where he pledged him-

self before the world to freedom, to the constitution, and to the laws—we meet to pay our tribute to the memory of the last great name, which gathers round itself all the associations that form the glory of America.

South Carolina gave a birthplace to Andrew Jackson. On its remote frontier, far up on the forest-clad banks of the Catawba, in a region where the settlers were just beginning to cluster, his eye first saw the light. There his infancy sported in the ancient forests, and his mind was nursed to freedom by their influence. He was the youngest son of an Irish emigrant, of Scottish origin, who, two years after the great war of Frederick of Prussia, fled to America for relief from indigence and oppression. His birth was in 1767, at a time when the people of our land were but a body of dependent colonists, scarcely more than two millions in number, scattered along an immense coast, with no army, or navy, or union; and exposed to the attempts of England to control America by the aid of military force. His boyhood grew up in the midst of the contest with Great Britain. The first great political truth that reached his heart, was, that all men are free and equal; the first great fact that beamed on his understanding was his country's independence.

The strife, as it increased, came near the shades of his own upland residence. As a boy of thirteen he witnessed the scenes of horror that accompany civil war; and when but a year older, with an elder brother, he shouldered his musket and went forth to strike a blow for his country.

Joyous era for America and for humanity! But for him, the orphan boy, the events were full of agony and grief. His father was no more. His oldest brother fell a victim to the war of the Revolution; another, his companion in arms, died of wounds received in their joint captivity; his mother went

down to the grave a victim to grief and efforts to rescue her sons; and when peace came he was alone in the world, with no kindred to cherish him and little inheritance but his own untried powers.

The nation which emancipated itself from British rule organizes itself; the confederation gives way to the constitution; the perfecting of that constitution—that grand event of the thousand years of modern history—is accomplished; America exists as a people, gains unity as a government, and assumes its place among the nations of the earth.

The next great office to be performed by America is the taking possession of the wilderness. The magnificent western valley cried out to the civilization of popular power that the season had come for its occupation by cultivated man.

Behold, then, our orphan hero, sternly earnest, consecrated to humanity from childhood by sorrow, having neither father, nor mother, nor sister, nor surviving brother, so young and yet so solitary, and therefore bound the more closely to collective man—behold him elect for his lot to go forth and assist in laying the foundations of society in the great valley of the Mississippi.

At the very time when Washington was pledging his own and future generations to the support of the popular institutions which were to be the light of the human race—at the time when the governments of the Old World were rocking to their centre, and the mighty fabric that had come down from the middle ages was falling in—the adventurous Jackson, in the radiant glory and boundless hope and confident intrepidity of twenty-one, plunged into the wilderness, crossed the great mountain barrier that divides the western waters from the Atlantic, followed the paths of the early hunters and fugitives, and, not content with the nearer

neighborhood to his parent State, went still further and further to the west till he found his home in the most beautiful region on the Cumberland. There, from the first, he was recognized as the great pioneer; and in his courage the coming emigrants were sure to find a shield.

The lovers of adventure began to pour themselves into the territory whose delicious climate and fertile soil invited the presence of social man. The hunter, with his rifle and his axe, attended by his wife and children; the herdsman, driving the few cattle that were to multiply as they browsed; the cultivator of the soil,—all came to the inviting region. Wherever the bending mountains opened a pass—wherever the buffaloes and the beasts of the forest had made a trace, these sons of nature, children of humanity, in the highest sentiment of personal freedom, came to occupy the lovely wilderness whose prairies blossomed everywhere profusely with wild flowers—whose woods in spring put to shame by their magnificence the cultivated gardens of man.

And now that these unlettered fugitives, educated only by the spirit of freedom, destitute of dead letter erudition, but sharing the living ideas of the age, had made their homes in the west, what would follow? Would they degrade themselves to ignorance and infidelity? Would they make the solitudes of the desert excuses for licentiousness? Would the hatred of excessive restraint lead them to live in unorganized society, destitute of laws and fixed institutions?

At a time when European society was becoming broken in pieces, scattered, disunited, and resolved into its elements, a scene ensued in Tennessee, than which nothing more beautifully grand is recorded in the annals of the race.

These adventurers in the wilderness longed to come together in organized society. The overshadowing genius of

their time inspired them with good designs and filled them with the counsels of wisdom. Dwellers in the forest, freest of the free, bound in the spirit, they came up by their representatives, on foot, on horseback, through the forest, along the streams, by the buffalo traces, by the Indian paths, by the blazed forest avenues, to meet in convention among the mountains of Knoxville and devise for themselves a constitution. Andrew Jackson was there, the greatest man of them all—modest, bold, determined, demanding nothing for himself, and shrinking from nothing that his heart approved.

The convention came together on the eleventh day of January, 1796, and finished its work on the sixth day of February. How had the wisdom of the Old World vainly tasked itself to devise constitutions that could at least be the subject of experiment. The men of Tennessee in less than twenty-five days perfected a fabric which, in its essential forms, was to last forever. They came together full of faith and reverence, of love to humanity, of confidence in truth. In the simplicity of wisdom they constructed their system, acting under higher influences than they were conscious of;

> "They wrought in sad sincerity,
> Themselves from God they could not free;
> They builded better than they knew;
> The conscious stones to beauty grew."

In the instrument which they adopted they embodied their faith in God and in the immortal nature of man. They gave the right of suffrage to every freeman; they vindicated the sanctity of reason by securing freedom of speech and of the press; they reverenced the voice of God as it speaks in the soul, by asserting the indefeasible right of man to worship the Infinite according to his conscience; they established the freedom and equality of elections; and they de-

manded from every future legislator a solemn oath, "never to consent to any act or thing whatever that shall have even a tendency to lessen the rights of the people."

These majestic lawgivers, wiser than the Solons, and Lycurguses, and Numas of the Old World,—these prophetic founders of a State, who embodied in their constitution the sublimest truths of humanity, acted without reference to human praises. They took no pains to vaunt their deeds; and when their work was done knew not that they had finished one of the sublimest acts ever performed among men. They left no record as to whose agency was conspicuous, whose eloquence swayed, whose generous will predominated; nor should we know, but for tradition, confirmed by what followed among themselves.

The men of Tennessee were now a people and they were to send forth a man to stand for them in the Congress of the United States—that avenue to glory—that home of eloquence—the citadel of popular power; and with one consent they united in selecting the foremost man among their lawgivers—Andrew Jackson.

The love of his constituents followed him to the American Congress; and he had served but a single term when the State of Tennessee made him one of its representatives in the American Senate, of which Jefferson was at the time the presiding officer.

Thus when he was scarcely more than thirty he had guided the settlement of the wilderness; swayed the deliberations of a people in establishing their fundamental laws; acted as their representative, and again as the representative of his organized commonwealth, disciplined to a knowledge of the power of the people and the power of the States; the associate of republican statesmen, the friend and companion of Jefferson.

The men who framed the constitution of the United States, many of them did not know the innate life and self-preserving energy of their work. They feared that freedom could not endure, and they planned a strong government for its protection. During his short career in Congress Jackson showed his quiet, deeply seated, innate, intuitive faith in human freedom, and in the institutions which rested on that faith. He was ever, by his votes and opinions, found among those who had confidence in humanity; and in the great division of minds this child of the woodlands, this representative of forest life in the west, appeared modestly and firmly on the side of liberty. It did not occur to him to doubt the right of man to the free development of his powers; it did not occur to him to place a guardianship over the people; it did not occur to him to seek to give durability to popular institutions by conceding to government a strength independent of popular will.

From the first he was attached to the fundamental doctrines of popular power and of the policy that favors it; and though his reverence for Washington surpassed his reverence for any human being, he voted against the address from the House of Representatives to Washington on his retirement, because its language appeared to sanction the financial policy which he believed hostile to the true principles of a republic.

During his period of service in the Senate Jackson was elected major-general by the brigadiers and field officers of the militia of Tennessee. Resigning his place in the Senate he was made judge of the supreme court in law and equity; such was the confidence in his clearness of judgment, his vigor of will, and his integrity of purpose, to deal justly among the turbulent who crowded into the new settlements of Tennessee.

Thus, in the short period of nine years, Andrew Jackson was signalized by as many evidences of public esteem as could fall to the lot of man. The pioneer of the wilderness, the defender of its stations, he was the lawgiver of a new people, their sole representative in Congress, the representative of the State in the Senate, the highest in military command, the highest in judicial office. He seemed to be recognized as the first in love of liberty, in the science of legislation, in sagacity, and integrity.

Delighting in private life he would have resigned his place on the bench, but the whole country demanded his continued service. "Nature," they cried, "never designed that your powers of thought and independence of mind should be lost in retirement." But after a few years, relieving himself from the cares of the court, he gave himself to the activity and the independent life of a husbandman. He carried into retirement the fame of natural intelligence, and was cherished as "a prompt, frank, and ardent soul." His vigor of character gave him the lead among all with whom he associated, and his name was familiarly spoken round every hearthstone in Tennessee. Men loved to discuss his qualities. All discerned his power, and when the vehemence and impetuosity of his nature were observed upon, there were not wanting those who saw beneath the blazing fires of his genius the solidity of his judgment.

His hospitable roof sheltered the emigrant and the pioneer; and as they made their way to their new homes they filled the mountain sides and the valleys with his praise.

Connecting himself for a season with a man of business, Jackson soon discerned the misconduct of his associate. It marked his character, that he insisted, himself, on paying every obligation that had been contracted; and rather than

endure the vassalage of debt he instantly parted with the rich domain which his early enterprise had acquired—with his own mansion—with the fields which he himself had first tamed to the ploughshare—with the forest whose trees were as familiar to him as his friends—and chose rather to dwell for a time in a rude log cabin in the pride of independence and integrity.

On all great occasions his influence was deferred to. When Jefferson had acquired for the country the whole of Louisiana, and there seemed some hesitancy on the part of Spain to acknowledge our possession, the services of Jackson were solicited by the national administration, and would have been called into full exercise but for the peaceful termination of the incidents that occasioned the summons.

In the long series of aggressions on the freedom of the seas, and the rights of the American flag, Jackson, though in his inland home the roar of the breakers was never heard and the mariner never was seen, resented the injuries wantonly inflicted on our commerce and on our sailors, and adhered to the new maritime code of Republicanism.

When the continuance of wrong compelled the nation to resort to arms, Jackson, led by the instinctive knowledge of his own greatness, yet with true modesty of nature, confessed his willingness to be employed on the Canada frontier and aspired to the command to which Winchester was appointed. We may ask, what would have been the result if the conduct of the Northwestern army had, at the opening of the war, been intrusted to a man who in action was ever so fortunate that he seemed to have made destiny capitulate to his vehement will?

The path of duty led him in another direction. On the declaration of war twenty-five hundred volunteers had risen

at his word to follow his standard; but by countermanding orders from the seat of government the movement was without effect.

A new and greater danger hung over the West. The Indian tribes were to make one last effort to restore it to its solitude and recover it for savage life. The brave, relentless Shawnees—who from time immemorial had strolled from the waters of the Ohio to the rivers of Alabama—were animated by Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, speaking to them as with the voice of the Great Spirit, and urging the Creek nation to desperate massacres. Their ruthless cruelty spared neither sex nor age; the infant and its mother, the planter and his family, who had fled for refuge to the fortress, the garrison that capitulated, all were slain and not a vestige of defence was left in the country. The cry of the West demanded Jackson for its defender; and though his arm was then fractured by a ball and hung in a sling, he placed himself at the head of the volunteers of Tennessee and resolved to terminate forever the hereditary struggle.

Who can tell the horrors of that campaign? Who can paint rightly the obstacles which Jackson overcame—mountains, the scarcity of untenanted forests, winter, the failure of supplies from the settlements, the insubordination of troops, mutiny, menaces of desertion? Who can measure the wonderful power over men by which his personal prowess and attractive energy drew them in midwinter from their homes, across mountains and morasses, and through trackless deserts? Who can describe the personal heroism of Jackson, never sparing himself, beyond any of his men encountering toil and fatigue, sharing every labor of the camp and of the march, foremost in every danger; giving up his horse to the invalid soldier, while he himself waded through the swamps

on foot? None equalled him in power of endurance; and the private soldiers, as they found him passing them on the march, exclaimed, "He is as tough as the hickory." "Yes," they cried to one another, "there goes Old Hickory!"

Then followed the memorable events of the double battles of Emuckfaw, and the glorious victory of Tohopeka, where the anger of the general against the faltering was more appalling than the war-whoop and the rifle of the savage; the fiercely contested field of Enotochopco, where the general, as he attempted to draw his sword to cut down a flying colonel who was leading a regiment from the field, broke again the arm which was but newly knit together; and, quietly replacing it in the sling, with his commanding voice arrested the flight of the troops and himself led them back to victory.

In six short months of vehement action the most terrible Indian war in our annals was brought to a close; the prophets were silenced; the consecrated region of the Creek nation reduced. Through scenes of blood the avenging hero sought only the path to peace. Thus Alabama, a part of Mississippi, a part of his own Tennessee, and the highway to the Floridas, were his gifts to the Union. These were his trophies.

Genius as extraordinary as military events can call forth was summoned into action in this rapid, efficient, and most fortunately conducted war. The hero descended the watercourses of Alabama to the neighborhood of Pensacola, and longed to plant the eagle of his country on its battlements.

Time would fail, and words be wanting, were I to dwell on the magical influence of his appearance in New Orleans. His presence dissipated gloom and dispelled alarm; at once he changed the aspect of despair into a confidence of security and a hope of acquiring glory. Every man knows the tale of the sudden, and yet deliberate daring which led him, on

the night of the twenty-third of December, to precipitate his little army on his foes, in the thick darkness, before they grew familiar with their encampment, scattering dismay through veteran regiments of England, defeating them, and arresting their progress by a far inferior force.

Who shall recount the counsels of prudence, the kindling words of eloquence, that gushed from his lips to cheer his soldiers, his skirmishes and battles, till that eventful morning when the day at Bunker Hill had its fulfilment in the glorious battle of New Orleans, and American independence stood before the world in the majesty of triumphant power!

These were great victories for the nation; over himself he won a greater. Had not Jackson been renowned for the impetuosity of his passions, for his defiance of others' authority, and the unbending vigor of his self-will? Behold the savior of Louisiana, all garlanded with victory, viewing around him the city he had preserved, the maidens and children whom his heroism had protected, yet standing in the presence of a petty judge, who gratifies his wounded vanity by an abuse of his judicial power. Every breast in the crowded audience heaves with indignation. He, the passionate, the impetuous, —he whose power was to be humbled, whose honor questioned, whose laurels tarnished, alone stood sublimely serene; and when the craven judge trembled, and faltered, and dared not proceed, himself, the arraigned one, bade him take courage, and stood by the law even when the law was made the instrument of insult and wrong on himself at the moment of his most perfect claim to the highest civic honors.

His country, when it grew to hold many more millions, the generation that then was coming in, has risen up to do homage to the magnanimity of that hour. Woman, whose feeling is always right, did honor from the first to the purity

of his heroism. The people of Louisiana, to the latest age, will cherish his name as their greatest benefactor.

The culture of Jackson's mind had been much promoted by his services and associations in the war. His discipline of himself as the chief in command, his intimate relations with men like Livingston, the wonderful deeds in which he bore a part, all matured his judgment and mellowed his character.

Peace came with its delights; once more the country rushed forward in the development of its powers; once more the arts of industry healed the wounds that war had inflicted; and, from commerce and agriculture and manufactures, wealth gushed abundantly under the free activity of unrestrained enterprise. And Jackson returned to his own fields and his own pursuits, to cherish his plantation, to care for his servants, to enjoy the affection of the most kind and devoted wife, whom he respected with the gentlest deference, and loved with a spotless purity.

There he stood, like one of the mightiest forest trees of his own West, vigorous and colossal, sending its summit to the skies, and growing on its native soil in wild and inimitable magnificence, careless of beholders. From every part of the country he received appeals to his political ambition, and the severe modesty of his well-balanced mind turned them all aside. He was happy in his farm, happy in seclusion, happy in his family, happy within himself.

But the passions of the southern Indians were not allayed by the peace with Great Britain; and foreign emissaries were still among them, to inflame and direct their malignity. Jackson was called forth by his country to restrain the cruelty of the treacherous and unsparing Seminoles. It was in the train of the events of this war that he placed the American eagle on St. Mark's and above the ancient towers of St.

Augustine. His deeds in that war, of themselves, form a monument to human power, to the celerity of his genius, to the creative fertility of his resources, to his intuitive sagacity. As Spain, in his judgment, had committed aggressions, he would have emancipated her islands; of the Havana, he caused the reconnaissance to be made; and, with an army of five thousand men, he stood ready to guarantee her redemption from colonial thraldom.

But when peace was restored, and his office was accomplished, his physical strength sunk under the pestilential influence of the climate, and, fast yielding to disease, he was borne in a litter across the swamps of Florida toward his home. It was Jackson's character that he never solicited aid from any one; but he never forgot those who rendered him service in the hour of need. At a time when all around him believed him near his end, his wife hastened to his side; and, by her tenderness and nursing care, her patient assiduity, and the soothing influence of devoted love, withheld him from the grave.

He would have remained quietly at his home, but that he was privately informed his conduct was to be attainted by some intended congressional proceedings; he came, therefore, into the presence of the people's representatives at Washington, only to vindicate his name; and, when that was achieved, he once more returned to his seclusion among the groves of the Hermitage.

It was not his own ambition which brought him again to the public view. The affection of Tennessee compelled him to resume a seat on the floor of the American Senate, and, after a long series of the intensest political strife, Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States.

Far from advancing his own pretensions, he always kept

them back, and had for years repressed the solicitations of his friends to become a candidate. He felt sensibly that he was devoid of scientific culture, and little familiar with letters; and he never obtruded his opinions, or preferred claims to place. But, whenever his advice was demanded, he was always ready to pronounce it; and whenever his country invoked his services, he did not shrink even from the station which had been filled by the most cultivated men our nation had produced.

Behold, then, the unlettered man of the West, the nursling of the wilds, the farmer of the Hermitage, little versed in books, unconnected by science with the traditions of the past, raised by the will of the people to the highest pinnacle of honor, to the central post in the civilization of republican freedom, to the office where all the powers of the earth would watch his actions—where his words would be repeated through the world, and his spirit be the moving star to guide the nations. What policy will he pursue? What wisdom will he bring with him from the forest? What rules of duty will he evolve from the oracles of his own mind?

The man of the West came as the inspired prophet of the West; he came as one free from the bonds of hereditary or established custom; he came with no superior but conscience, no oracle but his native judgment; and, true to his origin and his education, true to the conditions and circumstances of his advancement, he valued right more than usage; he reverted from the pressure of established interests to the energy of first principles.

We tread on ashes, where the fire is not yet extinguished; yet not to dwell on his career as President were to leave out of view the grandest illustrations of his magnanimity.

The legislation of the United States had followed the

precedents of the legislation of European monarchies; it was the office of Jackson to lift the country out of the European forms of legislation, and to open to it a career resting on American sentiment and American freedom. He would have freedom everywhere—freedom under the restraints of right; freedom of industry, of commerce, of mind, of universal action; freedom, unshackled by restrictive privileges, unrestrained by the thraldom of monopolies.

The unity of his mind and his consistency were without a parallel. Guided by natural dialectics, he developed the political doctrines that suited every emergency, with a precision and a harmony that no theorist could hope to equal. On every subject in politics he was thoroughly and profoundly and immovably radical; and would sit for hours, and in a continued flow of remark make the application of his principles to every question that could arise in legislation, or in the interpretation of the constitution.

His expression of himself was so clear that his influence pervaded not our land only, but all America and all mankind. They say that in the physical world the magnetic fluid is so diffused that its vibrations are discernible simultaneously in every part of the globe. So it is with the element of freedom. And as Jackson developed its doctrines from their source in the mind of humanity, the popular sympathy was moved and agitated throughout the world, till his name grew everywhere to be the symbol of popular power.

Himself the witness of the ruthlessness of savage life, he planned the removal of the Indian tribes beyond the limits of the organized States; and it is the result of his determined policy that the region east of the Mississippi has been transferred to the exclusive possession of cultivated man.

A pupil of the wilderness, his heart was with the pioneers

of American life toward the setting sun. He longed to secure to the emigrant, not pre-emption rights only, but more than pre-emption rights. He longed to invite labor to take possession of the unoccupied fields without money and without price; with no obligation except the perpetual devotion of itself by allegiance to its country. Under the beneficent influence of his opinions, the sons of misfortune, the children of adventure, find their way to the uncultivated West. There in some wilderness glade, or in the thick forest of the fertile plain, or where the prairies most sparkle with flowers, they, like the wild bee which sets them the example of industry, may choose their home, mark the extent of their possessions by driving stakes or blazing trees, shelter their log-cabin with boughs and turf, and teach the virgin soil to yield itself to the ploughshare. Theirs shall be the soil; theirs the beautiful farms which they teach to be productive. Come, children of sorrow! you on whom the Old World frowns; crowd fearlessly to the forests; plant your homes in confidence, for the country watches over you; your children grow around you as hostages, and the wilderness, at your bidding, surrenders its grandeur of useless luxuriance to the beauty and loveliness of culture. Yet beautiful and lovely as is this scene, it still by far falls short of the ideal which lived in the affections of Jackson.

It would be a sin against the occasion, were I to omit to commemorate the deep devotedness of Jackson to the cause and to the rights of the laboring classes. It was for their welfare that he defied all the storms of political hostility. He desired to ensure to them the fruits of their own industry; and he unceasingly opposed every system which tended to lessen their reward, or which exposed them to be defrauded of their dues. They may bend over his grave with affec-

tionate sorrow; for never, in the tide of time, did a statesman exist more heartily resolved to protect them in their rights, and to advance their happiness. For their benefit, he opposed partial legislation; for their benefit, he resisted all artificial methods of controlling labor, and subjecting it to capital. It was for their benefit that he loved freedom in all its forms—freedom of the individual in personal independence, freedom of the States as separate sovereignties. He never would listen to counsels which tended to the concentration of power, the subjecting general labor to a central will. The true American system presupposes the diffusion of freedom—organized life in all the parts of the American body politic, as there is organized life in every part of the human system. His vindication of the just principles of the constitution derived its sublimity from his deep conviction that this strict construction is required by the lasting welfare of the great laboring classes of the United States.

To this end, Jackson revived the tribunicial power of the veto, and exerted it against the decisive action of both branches of Congress, against the votes, the wishes, the entreaties of personal and political friends. "Show me," was his reply to them, "show me an express clause in the constitution authorizing Congress to take the business of State legislatures out of their hands." "You will ruin us all," cried a firm partisan friend; "you will ruin your party and your own prospects." "Providence," answered Jackson, "will take care of me;" and he persevered.

In proceeding to discharge the debt of the United States—a measure thoroughly American—Jackson followed the example of his predecessors; but he followed it with the full consciousness that he was rescuing the country from the artificial system of finance which had prevailed throughout

the world; and with him it formed a part of a system by which American legislation was to separate itself more and more effectually from European precedents, and develop itself more and more according to the vital principles of our political existence.

The discharge of the debt brought with it a great reduction of the public burdens, and brought, of necessity, into view the question, how far America should follow, of choice, the old restrictive policy of high duties, under which Europe had oppressed America; or how far she should rely on her own freedom, enterprise, and power, defying the competition, seeking the markets, and receiving the products of the world.

The mind of Jackson on this subject reasoned clearly, and without passion. In the abuses of the system of revenue by excessive imposts he saw evils which the public mind would remedy; and, inclining with the whole might of his energetic nature to the side of revenue duties, he made his earnest but tranquil appeal to the judgment of the people.

The portions of country that suffered most severely from a course of legislation, which, in its extreme character as it then existed, is now universally acknowledged to have been unequal and unjust, were less tranquil; and rallying on those doctrines of freedom, which make our government a limited one, they saw in the oppressive acts an assumption of power which of itself was nugatory, because it was exercised, as they held, without authority from the people.

The contest that ensued was the most momentous in our annals. The greatest minds of America engaged in the discussion. Eloquence never achieved sublimer triumphs in the American Senate than on those occasions. The country became deeply divided; and the antagonist elements were arrayed against each other under forms of clashing authority

menacing civil war; the freedom of the several States was invoked against the power of the United States; and under the organization of a State in convention, the reserved rights of the people were summoned to display their energy, and balance the authority and neutralize the legislation of the central government. The States were agitated with prolonged excitement; the friends of liberty throughout the world looked on with divided sympathies, praying that the American Union might be perpetual, and also that the commerce of the world might be free.

Fortunately for the country, and fortunately for mankind, Andrew Jackson was at the helm of state, the representative of the principles that were to allay the storm, and to restore the hopes of peace and freedom. By nature, by impulse, by education, by conviction, a friend to personal freedom—by education, political sympathies, and the fixed habit of his mind, a friend to the rights of the States—unwilling that the liberty of the States should be trampled underfoot—unwilling that the government should lose its vigor or be impaired, he rallied for the constitution; and in its name he published to the world, "The Union: it must be preserved." The words were a spell to hush evil passion, and to remove oppression. Under his effective guidance the favored interests which had struggled to perpetuate unjust legislation yielded to the voice of moderation and reform; and every mind that had for a moment contemplated a rupture of the States discarded it forever. The whole influence of the past was invoked in favor of the federal system; from the council chambers of the fathers who molded our institutions, from the hall where American independence was declared, the clear, loud cry was uttered—"the Union: it must be preserved." From every battlefield of the Revolution—from Lexington

and Bunker Hill, from Saratoga and Yorktown, from the fields of Eutaw and King's Mountain, from the canebrakes that sheltered the men of Marion—the repeated, long-prolonged echoes came up—" the Union: it must be preserved." From every valley in our land, from every cabin on the pleasant mountain sides, from the ships at our wharves, from the tents of the hunter in our westernmost prairies, from the living minds of the living millions of American freeman, from the thickly coming glories of futurity, the shout went up, like the sound of many waters, " the Union: it must be preserved." The friends of the protective system, and they who had denounced the protective system—the statesmen of the North, that had wounded the constitution in their love of increased power at the centre—the statesmen of the South, whose ingenious acuteness had carried to its extreme the theory of State rights—all conspired together; all breathed prayers for the perpetuity of the Union. Under the prudent firmness of Jackson, by the mixture of justice and general regard for all interests, the greatest danger to our country was turned aside, and mankind was encouraged to believe that our Union, like our freedom, is imperishable.

The moral of the great events of those days is this: That the people can discern right, and will make their way to a knowledge of right; that the whole human mind, and therefore with it the mind of the nation, has a continuous, ever-improving existence; that the appeal from the unjust legislation of to-day must be made quietly, earnestly, perseveringly, to the more enlightened collective reason of to-morrow; that submission is due to the popular will, in the confidence that the people, when in error, will amend their doings; that in a popular government injustice is neither to be established by force nor to be resisted by force; in a word, that the Union,

which was constituted by consent, must be preserved by love.

It rarely falls to the happy lot of a statesman to receive such unanimous applause from the heart of a nation. Duty to the dead demands that on this occasion the course of measures should not pass unnoticed in the progress of which his vigor of character most clearly appeared and his conflict with opposing parties was most violent and protracted.

From his home in Tennessee Jackson came to the presidency, resolved to lift American legislation out of the forms of English legislation, and to place our laws on the currency in harmony with the principles of our republic. He came to the presidency of the United States determined to deliver the government from the Bank of the United States, and to restore the regulation of exchanges to the rightful depository of that power—the commerce of the country. He had designed to declare his views on this subject in his inaugural address, but was persuaded to reliquish that purpose, on the ground that it belonged rather to a legislative message. When the period for addressing Congress drew near it was still urged that to attack the bank would forfeit his popularity and secure his future defeat. "It is not," he answered, "it is not for myself that I care." It was urged that haste was unnecessary, as the bank had still six unexpended years of chartered existence. "I may die," he replied, "before another Congress comes together, and I could not rest quietly in my grave if I failed to do what I hold so essential to the liberty of my country." And his first annual message announced to the people that the bank was neither constitutional nor expedient. In this he was in advance of the friends about him, in advance of Congress, and in advance of his party. This is no time for the analysis of measures or the

discussion of questions of political economy; on the present occasion we have to contemplate the character of the man.

Never, from the first moment of his administration to the last, was there a calm in the strife of parties on the subject of the currency; and never during the whole period did he recede or falter. Remaining always in advance of his party, always having near him friends who cowered before the hardihood of his courage, he himself was unmoved from the first suggestion of the unconstitutionality of the bank to the moment when first of all, reasoning from the certain tendency of its policy, he, with singular sagacity, predicted to unbelieving friends the coming insolvency of the institution.

The storm throughout the country rose with unexampled vehemence; his opponents were not satisfied with addressing the public, or Congress, or his cabinet; they threw their whole force personally on him. From all parts men pressed around him, urging him, entreating him to bend. Congress was flexible; many of his personal friends faltered; the impetuous swelling wave rolled on, without one sufficient obstacle, till it reached his presence; but as it dashed in its highest fury at his feet it broke before his firmness. The commanding majesty of his will appalled his opponents and revived his friends. He himself had a proud consciousness that his will was indomitable. Standing over the Rip Raps, and looking out upon the ocean, "Providence," said he to a friend, "Providence may change my determination; but man no more can do it than he can remove these Rip Raps, which have resisted the rolling of the ocean from the beginning of time." And though a panic was spreading through the land, and the whole credit system as it then existed was crumbling to pieces and crashing around him, he stood erect, like a mas-

sive column, which the heaps of falling ruins could not break, nor bend, nor sway from its fixed foundation.

In the relations of this country to the world Jackson demanded for America equality. The time was come for her to take her place over against the most ancient and most powerful States of the Old World, and to gain the recognition of her pretensions. He revived the unadjusted claims for injuries to our commerce, committed in the wantonness of European hostilities; and he taught the American merchant and the American sailor to repose confidingly under the sanctity of the American flag. Nor would he consent that the payment of indemnities which were due should be withheld or delayed. Even against France the veteran of the West enforced the just demand of America with an heroic vigor which produced an abiding impression on the world. He did this in the love of peace. "You have set your name to the most important document of your public life," said one of his cabinet to him as he signed the annual message that treated of the unpaid indemnity. "This paper may produce a war." "There will be no war," answered Jackson decisively; and rising on his feet, as was his custom when he spoke warmly, he expressed with solemnity his hatred of war, bearing witness to its horrors, and protesting against its crimes. He loved peace; and to secure permanent tranquillity he made the rule for his successors, as well as for himself, in the intercourse of America with foreign powers, "to demand nothing but what is right, and to submit to nothing that is wrong."

People of the District of Columbia,—I should fail of a duty on this occasion, if I did not give utterance to your sentiment of gratitude which followed General Jackson into retirement. This beautiful city, surrounded by heights the most attractive, watered by a river so magnificent, the home

of the gentle and the cultivated, not less than the seat of political power—this city, whose site Washington had selected, was dear to his affections; and if he won your grateful attachment by adorning it with monuments of useful architecture, by establishing its credit, and relieving it of its burdens, he regretted only that he had not the opportunity to have connected himself still more intimately with your prosperity. When he took leave of the District, the population of this city, and the masses from its vicinity, followed his carriage in crowds. All in silence stood near him, to wish him adieu; and as the cars started, and lifting his hat in token of farewell, he displayed his gray hairs, you stood around with heads uncovered, too full of emotion to speak, in solemn silence gazing on him as he went on his way to be seen of you no more.

Behold the warrior and statesman, his work well done, retired to the Hermitage, to hold converse with his forests, to cultivate his farm, to gather around him hospitably his friends! Who was like him? He was the lone-star of the American people. His fervid thoughts, frankly uttered, still spread the flame of patriotism through the American breast; his counsels were still listened to with reverence; and, almost alone among statesmen, he in his retirement was in harmony with every onward movement of his time. His prevailing influence assisted to sway a neighboring nation to desire to share our institutions; his ear heard the footsteps of the coming millions that are to gladden our western shores; and his eye discerned in the dim distance the whitening sails that are to enliven the Pacific with the social sounds of our commerce.

Age had whitened his locks and dimmed his eye and spread round him the infirmities and venerable emblems of

many years of toilsome service; but his heart beat warmly as in his youth, and his courage was firm as it had ever been in the day of battle. His affections were still for his friends and his country, his thoughts were already in a better world. He who in active life had always had unity of perception and will, in action had never faltered from doubt, and in council had always reverted to first principles and general laws, now gave himself to communing with the Infinite. He was a believer; from feeling, from experience, from conviction. Not a shadow of scepticism ever dimmed the lustre of his mind. Proud philosopher! will you smile to know that Andrew Jackson perused reverently his Psalter and Prayer Book and Bible? Know that he had faith in the eternity of truth, in the imperishable power of freedom, in the destinies of humanity, in the virtues and capacity of the people, in his country's institutions, in the being and overruling providence of a merciful and ever-living God.

The last moment of his life on earth is at hand. It is the Sabbath of the Lord; the brightness and beauty of summer clothe the fields around him; nature is in her glory; but the sublimest spectacle on that day was the victory of his unblenching spirit over death itself.

When he first felt the hand of death upon him, "May my enemies," he cried, "find peace; may the liberties of my country endure forever."

When his exhausted system, under the excess of pain, sunk, for a moment, from debility, "Do not weep," said he to his adopted daughter; "my sufferings are less than those of Christ upon the cross;" for he, too, as a disciple of the cross, could have devoted himself, in sorrow, for mankind. Feeling his end near, he would see all his family once more; and he spoke to them, one by one, in words of tenderness

and affection. His two little grandchildren were absent at Sunday-school. He asked for them; and as they came, he prayed for them, and kissed them, and blessed them. His servants were then summoned; they gathered, some in his room, and some on the outside of the house, clinging to the windows, that they might gaze and hear. And that dying man, thus surrounded, in a gush of fervid eloquence, spoke with inspiration of God, of the Redeemer, of salvation through the atonement, of immortality, of heaven. For he ever thought that pure and undefiled religion was the foundation of private happiness, and the bulwark of republican institutions. "Dear children," such were his final words, "dear children, servants, and friends, I trust to meet you all in heaven, both white and black—all, both white and black." And having borne his testmony to immortality, he bowed his mighty head, and, without a groan, the spirit of the greatest man of his age escaped to the bosom of his God.

In life, his career had been like the blaze of the sun in the fierceness of its noonday glory; his death was lovely as the summer's evening, when the sun goes down in tranquil beauty without a cloud. To the majestic energy of an indomitable will, he joined a heart capable of the purest and most devoted love, rich in the tenderest affections. On the bloody battlefield of Topoheca, he saved an infant that clung to the breast of its dying mother; in the stormiest season of his presidency, he paused at the imminent moment of decision to counsel a poor suppliant that had come up to him for relief. Of the strifes in which he was engaged in his earlier life, not one sprung from himself, but in every case he became involved by standing forth as the champion of the weak, the poor, and the defenceless, to shelter the gentle against oppression, to protect the emigrant against the avarice

of the speculator. His generous soul revolted at the barbarous practice of duels, and by no man in the land have so many been prevented.

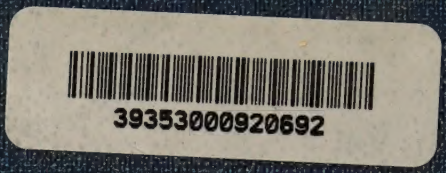
The sorrows of those that were near to him went deeply into his soul; and at the anguish of the wife whom he loved, the orphans whom he adopted, he would melt into tears, and weep and sob like a child. No man in private life so possessed the hearts of all around him; no public man of this century ever returned to private life with such an abiding mastery over the affections of the people. No man with truer instinct received American ideas; no man expressed them so completely, or so boldly, or so sincerely. He was as sincere a man as ever lived. He was wholly, always, and altogether sincere and true.

Up to the last, he dared do anything that it was right to do. He united personal courage and moral courage beyond any man of whom history keeps the record. Before the nation, before the world, before coming ages, he stands forth the representative, for his generation, of the American mind. And the secret of his greatness is this: by intuitive conception, he shared and possessed all the creative ideas of his country and his time; he expressed them with dauntless intrepidity; he enforced them with an immovable will; he executed them with an electric power that attracted and swayed the American people. The nation, in his time, had not one great thought of which he was not the boldest and clearest expositor.

Not danger, not an army in battle array, not wounds, not widespread clamor, not age, not the anguish of disease, could impair in the least degree the vigor of his steadfast mind. The heroes of antiquity would have contemplated with awe the unmatched hardihood of his character; and Napoleon, had

he possessed his disinterested will, could never have been vanquished. Jackson never was vanquished. He was always fortunate. He conquered the wilderness; he conquered the savage; he conquered the bravest veterans trained in the battlefields of Europe; he conquered everywhere in statesmanship; and, when death came to get the mastery over him, he turned the last enemy aside as tranquilly as he had done the feeblest of his adversaries, and passed from earth in the triumphant consciousness of immortality.

His body has its fit resting place in the great central valley of the Mississippi; his spirit rests upon our whole territory; it hovers over the vales of Oregon, and guards, in advance, the frontier of the Del Norte. The fires of party strife are quenched at his grave. His faults and frailties have perished. Whatever of good he has done lives, and will live forever.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